

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
OF THE
PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

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THE
P R E F A C E.

The design of this Work. A general Idea of the Protestant Religion and the Variations of it. The discovery of them conducive to the knowledge of true Doctrine, and reconciling the minds of men. The Authors referred to in this History.



IF Protestants knew thoroughly in what manner their Religion was form'd ; with how many Variations, and with what inconstancy their Confessions of Faith were drawn up ; how they first separated from us, and then from one another ; by how many subtilties, shifts, and equivocations they strove to piece up their divisions, and bring together the scatter'd members of their disunited Reformation : this boasted name would yield them but little satisfaction ; and, to speak my mind sincerely, but matter of contempt. The History, I under-

I.
A general
Idea of the
Protestant
Religion,
and this
Work.

take, is therefore of these subtilties, these equivocations and these artifices: but to the end this relation may be of more advantage to them, some Principles must be laid down which they cannot but agree to, and which the thread of a narration would not permit me to deduce when therein engaged.

II.
Variations
in Faith, a
certain
proof of
falshood.
Those of
the *Ari-*
ans. Steadi-
ness of the
Catholick
Church.

When, in expositions of Faith, Variations were seen among Christians, they were ever look'd upon as a mark of falshood and in-consequence in the expounded Doctrine. Faith speaks simply: the Holy Ghost sheds pure light; and the truth he teaches hath a language that is always uniform. Whoever is but the least conversant in the History of the Church, must know, she opposed to each Heresy proper and precise explications which she never alter'd; and if the expressions be observed, by which she condemn'd Hereticks, it will appear their drift was always to attack Error in its source, the shortest and directest way. Wherefore, all that varies, and is clogged with obscure and ambiguous terms, always was mistrusted, not of fraud only, but of absolute falshood, this ever betokening perplexity unknown to truth. This was one of the grounds, on which the ancient Doctors so much condemn'd the *Arians*, who, unable to fix themselves, were constantly setting forth
new

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new Confessions of Faith. Since their first Confession of Faith which was made by *Arius*, and presented by this Arch-heretick to his Bishop *Alexander*, they never ceased to vary. With this did St. *Hilary* upbraid *Constantius* the protector of these Hereticks; and whilst this Emperor daily call'd new *Councils* to reform their *Creeds*, and set forth new Confessions, this holy Bishop addresses him in these home words: *Your case is the same with that of unskilful Architects, who are never pleased with their own work; you do nothing but build up, and pull down: whereas, the Catholick Church, the very first time it assembled, raised an immortal fabrick, and in the Nicene Symbol made so full a declaration of truth, that to condemn Arianism eternally, nothing more could be required than the repeating of it.*

*Ad Const.
Aug. p.
296.*

To vary in this manner, was not peculiar to the *Arians*; from the very rise of Christianity all Heresies bore the same character, and long before the time of *Arius*, *Tertullian* said: *Hereticks vary in their Rules*; namely in their Confessions of Faith: *every one amongst them thinks he has a right to change, and model what he has received, according to his own fancy; as the Author of the Sect did first compose it according to his own fancy: Heresy always retains its proper*

III.
The character of Heresies is to be changeable. A famous saying of *Tertullian* *De Præscr.* c. 42.

nature, in never ceasing to innovate; and the progress of the thing is like to its beginning. What is allow'd to Valentin, is likewise so to the Valentinians: the Marcionists have equal power with Marcion; nor have the authors of a Heresy more right to innovate than their Disciples: every thing is on the change in Heresies; and when thoroughly look'd into, in process of time, they are found quite different in many points from what they were at first.

IV.
This character of Heresy acknowledged in all Ages of the Church.
Eth. & Beat. li. 1. Conc. Elip.

This character of Heresy always was observed by Catholicks; and it has been written by two holy Authors of the eighth Century, that *Heresy, however old, is always, in itself, a Novelty; but the better to keep the title of being new, it innovates daily, and daily changes its Doctrine.*

V.
The character of the Catholick Church's immutability in Faith.
De Virg. Vel. 1.

But whilst Heresies, always varying, agree not with themselves, and are continually bringing in new Rules, to wit, new Symbols; *Tertullian* says, that in the Church, *the rule of Faith is unalterable, and never to be reform'd*: because the Church, who professes to speak and teach nothing, but what she hath received, does never vary; whereas Heresy, which began by innovating, daily innovates, and changes not its nature.

VI.
A principle of inconstancy in all new Doctrines.

Whereupon *St. Chrysostom* discoursing on this commandment of the Apostle; *shun prophane babblings, which will increase unto more*

more ungodliness, made this reflexion: avoid Novelties in your discourse, for things will not stop there: one Novelty begets another, and there is no end to Error, when once you have begun to err.

St. Paul,
St. Chryso-
stom Hom.
5. in 2.
ad Tim.

In Heresies, two things cause this disorder: one derived from the nature of human minds, which having once tasted the bait of Novelty, thro' an irregular appetite, are always in quest after this deceitful allurements; the other, drawn from the difference there is betwixt what God does, and what men do. Catholick truth, proceeding from God, hath its perfection at once: Heresy, a weak off-spring of the human mind, can no otherwise be form'd than of patch'd up and ill suiting parts. When, contrary to God's commandment, man ventures to *remove the ancient landmark set by his fore-fathers*, and reform the Doctrine received once amongst the Faithful; he lanches forth, without a thorough insight into all the Consequences, from what he first advanced: what a false twilight made him then venture on, is afterwards found big with such Inconsistencies, as oblige these Reformers every day to reform themselves; nor can they know when their Innovations will have an end, and they rest satisfied.

VII.
Two causes
of their
instability
in Here-
sies.

Proverbs
xxii. 28.

VIII.
What be
those Vari-
ations,
which we
pretend to
shew in the
Protestant
Churches.

These are the solid and steady Principles, by which I undertake to prove evidently to *Protestants* the falshood of their Doctrine, from their continual Variations and the unsteady way, whereby they have explicated their Tenets, I don't say as *Particulars* only, but as *Churches* in Body assembled, in Books they call *symbolical*, namely, those that have been made to express the consent of Churches; in a word, from their own Confessions of Faith, decreed, sign'd, publish'd; the Doctrine whereof hath been given out, as a Doctrine containing nothing, but the *pure Word of God*, which, notwithstanding, has been changed so many ways in its chief Articles.

IX.
The Pro-
testant
Party di-
vided into
two main
Bodies.

But, purposing to speak of those, who in these latter Ages have call'd themselves *Reform'd*, 'tis not my design to include *Socinians*, nor the diverse Herds of *Anabaptists*, nor so many different Sects as start up in *England*, and other places, in the bosom of the new Reformation: but of those two Bodies only, one of which comprehends the *Lutherans*, to wit, those who are ruled by the *Ausburg*-confession, the other, *Zuinglius* and *Calvin's* followers. Those, in relation to the Eucharist, are defenders of the *literal* sense; these, of the *figurative*. Accordingly, by this Character chiefly shall I distinguish them,

them, altho' many other very weighty and very important Differences there be amongst them, as the Sequel will make appear.

Here *Lutherans* will tell us, they are very little concern'd in the variations and conduct of *Zuinglians* and *Calvinists*; and some of these may think, in their turn, that the inconstancy of *Lutherans* touches them as little: but both are equally in the wrong; seeing that, the *Lutherans* may behold in the *Calvinists* the consequences of those Commotions they excited; and on the contrary, the *Calvinists* ought to observe in them the confused unsteadiness, in its Beginning, of that original they follow'd: but *Calvinists* especially cannot deny, that they always look'd on *Luther* and the *Lutherans*, as the authors of their *Reformation*; and not to speak of *Calvin*, who often mention'd *Luther* with respect, as the Head of it; in the Sequel of this History, we shall see all the *Calvinists* (by this name I here mean the second Party of *Protestants*) *Germans, English, Hungarians, Polanders, Hollanders*, and all the rest in general, who by *Queen Elizabeth's* procurement were assembled at *Frankfort*; after owning those of the *Ausburg*-confession, to wit, the *Lutherans*, for the first, that gave the Church a new birth, moreover own, the Confession of *Ausburg* as common to the whole Party, which

X.
The variations of one Party are a proof against the other, chiefly those of the *Lutherans*.

L. xii.
Aet. Auth.
Blond. p.
65.

which they did not pretend to contradict, but *only rightly to understand*; and this too in one only Article, which is that of the *Lord's Supper*; for this reason also, naming among their *Fathers*, not only *Zuinglius*, *Bucer* and *Calvin*, but *Luther* and *Melancthon* too, and before all other Reformers, placing *Luther* at the very head.

After that let them say, they are little concern'd in the Variations of *Luther* and the *Lutherans*: we shall tell them on the contrary, that, according to their own Principles, and their own Declarations, to shew the Variations and Inconstancies of *Luther* and the *Lutherans*, is to shew the spirit of giddiness in the fountain-head of the *Reformation*, and in their Brains who first conceived it.

XI.
The collection of
Confessions of Faith
printed at
Geneva.
Syntagma.
Conf. Fidei
Gen. 1654.

A collection of Confessions of Faith has long since been printed at *Geneva*, in which, together with that of the defenders of the *figurative* sense, namely, that of *France*, and the *Swiss*, are also contain'd those of the defenders of the *literal* sense, as that of *Ausburg* and some others; and what still more deserves observation is, that altho' the Confessions there collected be so different, and, in sundry Articles of Faith, condemn each other; in the preface to this collection they are nevertheless proposed, *as one intire body of sacred Divinity, and as authentick Records, which men ought to have recourse to,*

Ibid. præf.

in order to know the ancient and primitive Faith. They are dedicated to the Kings of *England, Scotland, Denmark, and Swedeland,* and those several Princes and Republicks, they are follow'd by. No matter, tho' these Kings and Countries be separated from one another, in *Communion,* as well as *Faith.* Those of *Geneva* address them nevertheless as true Believers, *enlighten'd in these latter times,* by God's especial grace, *with the true light of his Gospel;* and then present them all these Confessions of Faith, as *an eternal monument of their ancestors extraordinary piety.*

The reason of which is, because these Doctrines are, in fact, equally adopted by *Calvinists,* either as absolutely true, or at least, as containing nothing contrary to the *Fundamentals* of Faith: so that, when in this History shall be laid open the Doctrine of Confessions of Faith not only of *France,* or *Switzerland,* but of *Ausburg,* and others set forth by *Lutherans,* this Doctrine must not be consider'd as foreign to *Calvinism,* but as a Doctrine, which the *Calvinists* have approved expressly as true, or left uncensured as innocent, in the most authentic Acts that have pass'd amongst them.

I shall not say as much of the *Lutherans,* who, instead of being moved with the authority

XII.
The *Calvinists* approve the *Lutherans* Confession of Faith, at least, as having nothing in them contrary to fundamental Points.

XIII.
The *Lutherans* Confessions of Faith.

thority of those, who defend the *figurative* sense, entertain nothing but a contempt of, and an aversion to their sentiments. Their own inconstancy, one might think, should humble them. To read but the titles of their Confessions of Faith in this *Geneva* collection, and in the others of the like nature, where we find them gather'd into a body : The very multitude is astonishing. The first, that makes its appearance, is that of *Ausburg*, whence the *Lutherans* derive their name. It will be seen as presented to *Charles V.* in 1530, and after that, to have been touch'd and re-touch'd several times. *Melancthon*, who had penn'd it, turn'd also the sense of it a quite different way in the *Apology* he then made, and which was subscribed by the whole Party : Thus was it changed in coming forth from the hands of its very Author. From that time, never did they cease reforming, and explaining it in different manners ; so much were these *Reformers* put to it, to please themselves ; and so little used to teach precisely what was to be believed.

But as if one Confession only, on the same subject, were not sufficient, *Luther* judged it necessary for him to deliver his sentiments after another way ; and, in 1537, drew up the *Smalcaldick* Articles, in order to
be

be presented to the *Council*, which *Paul III.* had call'd at *Mantua*: which Articles were sign'd by the whole Party; and are inserted in what the *Lutherans* call'd the book of *Concord*. *Concord.*
p. 298.
730.

This explication was not so fully satisfactory, but that it was still requisite to draw up the Confession call'd *Saxonick*, presented to the Council of *Trent* in 1551, and that of *Wirtemberg*, which in 1552, was also presented to the same *Council*.

Add to this the explanations of the Church of *Wittemberg*, the Birth-place of the *Reformation*; and the rest of them, which in order shall be produced in this History; especially those of the book of *Concord*, in the *abridgment* of Articles; and also in the same book, the *explications repeated*, all of them, so many several *Confessions* of Faith, embraced by some *Churches*, impugned by others, in Points the most important; and yet these *Churches* would fain seem to make one body, because, thro' policy, they dissemble their Dissentions on *Ubiquity*, and other matters. *Conc.* 570.
778.

Not less fruitful in *Confessions* of Faith was the other party of the *Protestants*. At the same time that the Confession of *Ausburg* was presented to *Charles V.* those, that dissented from it, presented him their own, XIV.
The Con-
fession of
Faith of
the figura-
tive-sense-
Defenders,
or the se-
cond Party
of Protest-
ants.

own, publish'd in the name of four Cities of the Empire, the first of which was *Strasburg*.

This so little pleased those, who maintain'd the *figurative* sense, that every one must needs make his own: we shall see four or five in the *Swiss* taste. But if the *Zuinglian* ministers had their way of thinking, others were no less singular in theirs; and this is what produced the *Confession* of *France* and *Geneva*. Much about that time appear'd two *Confessions* of Faith, under the name of the *Church of England*; as many under that of the *Kirk of Scotland*. *Frederick III.* Elector *Palatine* would make his particular one; and this, together with the rest, found place in the collection of *Geneva*. The *Flemings* would stick to none of those already made; accordingly we have a *Confession* of *Dutch Faith* approved by the Synod of *Dort*. But why should the *Polonian-Calvinists* not have theirs? and indeed, tho' they had subscribed the last *Confession* of the *Zuinglians*; nevertheless, we find they publish another still at the Synod of *Czenger*: not content with this, assembled at *Sendomir* with the *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*, they agree to a new way of expounding the *Eucharistick* Article. Yet so that none of them departed from their former sentiments.

I speak not of the *Bobemians*, who, in their Confession, would content both Parties of the new *Reform*. I speak not of the treaties of agreement, which with so much variety, so great equivocations, were made betwixt these *Churches*: they, together with the decisions of *national* Synods, and other *Confessions* of Faith, framed in different conjunctures, will appear in due place. Good God! is it possible that such a multitude of *Acts*, so many *Decisions*, and different *Confessions* of Faith, should be requisite on the same subject, and the same questions! nor can I venture to say, I know them all; nay, I know it was not in my power to meet with all. The *Catholick* Church never had but one to oppose against each *Herefy*: but these *Churches* of the new *Reformation*, which have produced such a multitude (wonderful, but not less true!) are not as yet contented; and by this History it will appear, it was not our *Calvinists* fault, that new ones were not made, which either would have suppress'd, or reform'd all that went before.

XV.
Other authentic
Acts.

These
Variations
prove the
weakness
of the Pro-
testant Re-
ligion.

One is astonish'd at these Variations; and will be much more so, when the particular account, and the manner in which so authentic *Acts* were made, shall be discover'd. The name of a *Confession* of Faith,

I speak it without exaggerating, became a jest among them, and nothing, in the *Reformation*, was less serious, than what, in Religion, is most so.

XVI.
The Pro-
testants
were a-
shamed of
so many
Confessions
of Faith.
The frivo-
lous pre-
texts by
which
they en-
deavour'd
to defend
themselves
Synt. Conf.
Præf.

Those, that made these *Confessions* of *Faith*, were startled at the prodigious number of them; the pitiful reasons by them alledged for their Excuse, shall be discover'd: but I cannot here refrain from producing those, which are propos'd in the *Preface* to the *collection* of *Geneva*; because they are general, and equally regard all *Churches*, that call themselves *Reform'd*.

The first reason alledged to make good the necessity of multiplying these *Confessions* is, because, many Articles of *Faith* being attack'd, many *Confessions* were to be oppos'd to this great number of Errors; I agree to it; and withal demonstrate, by a contrary reason, the absurdity of all these *Protestant* *Confessions*; since all of them, as you may see by reading but the titles, regard precisely the same Articles: so that, exactly pat to their case are these words of *St. Athanasius*: *To what purpose a new Council, new Confessions, a new Creed? what new question hath arisen?*

Athan. de
Syn. &
Ep. ad
Afr.

Another excuse is; that all the world, as the *Apostle* witnesses, ought to give a reason for their Faith; inasmuch that the
Churches

Churches spread in divers places, ought to declare their belief by a publick testimony; as if all the *Churches* of the World, be they never so far asunder, having the same Faith, could not agree in the same testimony, and that, in fact, the like consent of *Churches* had not been seen, from the first origin of *Christianity*. Where can it be shew'd me, that, in primitive times, the *Eastern Churches* had a different *Confession of Faith* from that of the *West*? did not the *Symbol of Nice* equally serve them for a testimony against all *Arians*? the *definition of Chalcedon*, against all *Eutychians*? the *eight chapters of Carthage*, against all *Pelagians*? and so of the rest.

But, was there ever a one of the *reform'd Churches* (*Protestants* will say) that could set a law for all the other *Churches*? no certainly: all these new *Churches*, under the pretext of keeping off tyranny, had banish'd away all order, and could not retain so much as the principle of Unity: but after all, if truth, as they glory, be the only power they all submit to be ruled by; to unite them thoroughly in the same *Confession of Faith*, nothing more should have been requisite, than for them all to have embraced the sentiments of that *Church*, on

which God had bestow'd the grace of first expounding truth.

Lastly, we further read in the *Preface* of *Geneva*, that if the *Reformation* had produced but one *Confession* of Faith, this consent would have been taken for a studied contrivance; whereas, a consent betwixt so many *Churches*, and *Confessions*, without this joint contrivance, is the work of the *Holy Ghost*. Wonderful, indeed, would such a consent have been: but, unluckily, this miraculous consent is wanting to those *Confessions*; and this History will make appear, that in so serious a concern, never before hath been seen so strange an inconsistency.

XVII.
Both sides
of the Pro-
testants try
in vain to
unite
themselves
by one u-
niform
Confession
of Faith.
L. xii.

L. iii. viii.

XVIII.

How
much these
Variations
degenerate
from the

The *Reformation* was well aware of this great evil; and strove ineffectually to redress it. A general *assembly* was held by the whole second party of *Protestants*, in order to frame one common *Confession* of Faith. But, by the acts we shall be convinced, it was as impossible to agree therein, as incongruous to be without it.

The *Lutherans*, who seem more united in the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, have not been less at a stand about it's different Editions; nor could they any better help themselves.

Tedious to behold, undoubtedly, will be these *Variations* with the many false subtilties

subtillties of the new *Reformation*; so many cavils on words; so many different agreements; so many equivocal and forced explanations, which they were grounded on. Is this, often will one ask, that Christian *Religion* heretofore admired by *Heathens* for so *simple*, so *clear*, so precise in its Doctrine? *christianam religionem absolutam & simplicem*? no certainly, 'tis not the same. *Ammianus Marcellinus* had just reason to say, that *Constantius*, with all his *Councils*, and all his *Symbols*, had departed from that admirable simplicity, and through the continual fear he was in of being at last deceived, had undermined the whole support and security of Faith.

simplicity
of primi-
tive Chri-
stianity.

*Ammian.
Marcel. L.
xxi.*

Altho' it be my design, in this work, to represent the *Confessions* of Faith, and other publick acts wherein *Variations* occur, not of particular people, but of whole *Churches* of the *new Reform*; I cannot avoid speaking, at the same time, of the *Heads* of the party, who drew up these *Confessions*, or gave occasion to these Changes. Accordingly, *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Carlostadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, *Oecolampadius*, *Calvin* and others will be often call'd forth in their turns; but I shall say nothing of them that is not, most commonly, taken from their own writings, and always from unsuspected Authors:

XIX.
Why ne-
cessary to
speak
much in
this Histo-
ry of those
whom
Protestants
call the
Reformers

infomuch that, through this whole narration, not one fact uncertain, or useles to give a clearer understanding of the *Variations* I write upon, will be produced.

XX.
Whence
the records
made use
of in this
History
are taken.
Why no
history
more cer-
tain or
more au-
thentick
than this.

As for what regards the publick *aëts* of *Protestants*, besides their *Confessions* of Faith, and *Catechisms*, which are in every body's hand, some have I found in the *Collection* of Geneva; others in the book call'd *Concordia*, printed by the *Lutherans* in 1654; others in the *result* of the *national Synods* of our *French Protestants*, which I have seen in authentick form in the *King's* library; others in the *Sacramentarian* history, printed at *Zurick* in 1602, written by *Hospinian* a *Zuinglian* author; or lastly, in other *Protestant* authors: in a word, nothing shall I say, which is not authentick and incontestable. Yet, upon the whole, as to my own part, it is well known, what persuasion I am of: for certainly I am a *Catholick*, as submissive as any man to the decisions of the *Church*; and so disposed, that none fears more, the preferring his own *private* to the *universal* judgment. In this case, to affect appearing neuter and indifferent, because I write a history; or to dissemble what I am, when all the world knows, and I glory in it, would be imposing on the reader in too gross

gross a manner: but for all this sincere confession, I maintain to *Protestants*, that they cannot refuse me credit; and never will they read a history, whatever it be, more unquestionable than this; since, whatsoever I may have to say against their *Churches*, and authors, nothing will be produced, which is not clearly proved by their own attestations.

In transcribing of them, I have spared myself no pains, and the reader will perchance complain that I have not spared his enough. Others may blame my dwelling on things, which to them may seem trivial: but, besides that those, who are accustomed to treat on matters of *Religion*, know full well, in a subject of this importance and this nicety, there is scarce any thing, even the minutest word, but what's essential; it ought to be consider'd, not what things are in themselves, but what they were, and still continue to be, in the minds of those with whom I deal; and after all, it will easily be seen, that this *History* is of a quite particular kind; that it ought to appear with all its proofs, and arm'd as it were in all points; and in order to render it more convincing and profitable, it was necessary to run the risque of making it less diverting.

XXI.
Some objections, which may be made against this Work.

XXII.
Some
things
which it
was neces-
sary to
trace up
higher, as
the histo-
ry of the
Vaudois,
of the *Al-
bigenses*,
of *John
Wickliff*
and *John
Hufs*.
L. xi.

Tho' my plan may seem to confine me within the limits of the history of *Protestants*, I judged it necessary, in certain places, to ascend to matters of a more distant date; then especially, when the *Vaudois* and *Hussites* were seen to reconcile themselves with the *Calvinists*, and *Lutherans*. It was here fitting to discover the first rise and opinions of these *Seëts*, to shew their *extraction*, and distinguish them from those, whom *Protestants* were willing to confound them with; to detect the *Manicheism* of *Peter de Bruis* and the *Albigenses*; and shew, in what sense the *Vaudois* may be said to spring from them; to give an account of the *impieties* and *blasphemies* of *Wickliff*, from whom *Hufs* and his Disciples took their birth; in a word, to reveal the shame of all these *Seëtaries* to those, who glory in such *Predecessors*.

XXIII.
Why,
without
distinction
of matter,
the order
of time is
followed.

As to the method of this work, the disputes and decisions will be join'd together without distinction of matter, in the same order in which they happen'd; because the times themselves directed me to this way. By this means, it is certain, the Variations of *Protestants*, and the state of their *Churches* will better be distinguish'd. By thus taking in, at one view, the circumstances
of

of time and place, what may serve for the conviction or defence of the parties concern'd, will soon be clearly discover'd.

There is but one controversy, the History of which I write a-part, and it is that which regards the *Church*; a matter of that importance, and which, by its decision alone, might put an end to all disputes, were it not as much imbroil'd in the writings of *Protestants*, as it is clear and intelligible in itself. To restore to it its native plainness and simplicity, all I had to relate on this subject, I have thrown together in the last Book, that the reader, having at once throughly seen the difficulty, may perceive what it was that obliged these new *Churches*, to turn successively into so many shapes, what at the bottom could have but one and the same. For, after all, the whole of the matter lay in shewing, where the *Church* was before the *Reformation*. Naturally, and according to the common notion of all *Christians*, it ought to be own'd visible; and in their first *Confessions* of Faith, as will be seen in that of *Ausburg* and *Strasburg* the first of each party, *Protestants* went thus far: by which they obliged themselves to shew, agreeing with them in one and the same belief, not particular men spread here and there, some on one point, some on another; but

XXIV.

The whole dispute relating to the Church put together. The present state of this famous question, and to what terms it is reduced by the Ministers *Claude*, and *Jurieu*.
L. xv.

Bodies of a *Church*, namely, *Bodies* composed of *Pastors* and *People*: and for a long time they held men in play by saying, that the *Church*, indeed, was not always in a shining state, but in all times there was, at least, some little *assembly*, where truth made it self be hear'd. At last, having well perceived, they could not point out any one, either *little* or *great*, *obscure* or *shining*, of the *Protestant* belief, the subterfuge of an *invisible Church* very opportunely came in their way, and long did the dispute turn on this question. In our days they have perceived more clearly, that a *Church* reduced to an invisible state, was a chimera irreconcilable with the plan of *Scripture* and the common notion of *Christians*; and this bad post is now abandoned. The *Protestants* have been forced to seek for their succession, even in the *Church of Rome*. Two famous *Ministers* of *France* vied with each other, which should best salve the inconsistencies of this *System*, to use the word in vogue. It is well understood, these two *Ministers* are Mr. *Claude*, and *Jurieu*; Men not to be surpassed either in wit or study, subtilty or address, nor in any qualification necessary to make a good defence: than whom none could have put on a better countenance, or turn'd off their
adversaries

adversaries with a more haughty and disdainful air, to herd with weak *People*, and *Missionaries* held by these *Ministers* in such low contempt: the difficulty, nevertheless, they would fain have made appear so light, proved at last so great, that it raised a division in the party. They were forced at length to own publicly, even that eternal Salvation, with the *essential* succession of true *Christianity*, was alike found in the *Church of Rome*, as in other *Churches*; a secret which the party's policy had kept so long conceal'd. They have given us so great advantages besides; were driven into such visible excesses; have so far forgotten, both the ancient maxims of the *Reformation*, and their own *Confessions* of Faith, that I could not but relate this change in its whole length. Having applied my self with great care, there to trace out exactly the plan of these two *Ministers*, and shew plainly wherein they have placed the state of the question; I must own sincerely, I have found in their writings, together with the most dextrous shifts, as much erudition, and as much subtilty, as ever I have observed in all the *Lutheran*, or *Calvinist* authors I am acquainted with: and if, among *Protestants*, it should be judged adviseable, under
pretext

pretext of the absurdities, which they were compell'd into, to contradict and recall what they have granted, and again take shelter in the *invisible Church*, or other retreats equally abandon'd: this would be like the disorder of a routed army, who, dismay'd at their overthrow, should seek to enter again into those forts they had not been able to maintain, at the peril of being soon forced out a second time; or, like the restlessness of a sick person, that after much turning to and fro in bed, in search of a more easy place, comes back to that he but just left, where he soon finds himself no better than before.

XXV.
What
complaints
Protestants
may make,
and how
frivolous.

I have but one thing to fear; and if I may be allow'd to speak it, 'tis lest I should lay too open to our brethren the weakness of their *Reformation*. Some there are amongst them, who, seeing their *Religion* so manifestly in the wrong, rather than be pacified, will be exasperated against us; tho' alas! I am far from the thoughts of imputing to them the misfortunes of their birth, and I pity much more than I blame them. But they will not fail to rise up against us. What a heap of recriminations will be hoarded up to cast back upon the *Church*, and what reproaches probably
against

against my self on the nature of this work? how many of our adversaries will tell me, tho' without reason, that, departing from my own character and maxims, and turning disputes of *Religion* into personal and particular accusations, I have abandoned that moderation, which they themselves have praised? but certainly, they'll be to blame; if this relation renders the proceedings of the *Reformation* odious, honest minds will clearly see, it is not I, but the thing itself that speaks. In a discourse wherein, with respect to matters of *Faith*, I propose to shew the most authentick acts of *Protestant* Religion, nothing less than personal facts can be the question in hand. And, if in their authors, whom they extol to us for men extraordinarily sent to revive *Christianity* in the sixteenth Century, there be found a conduct directly opposite to such a design; if, in general, through the whole party they have form'd, Characters quite contrary to a *reviving Christianity* be seen: in this part of the History, *Protestants* will learn, not to dishonour God and his Providence, by attributing to him a special choice, which would be evidently bad.

As to recriminations they must no less be borne, than all those invectives and calumnies

XXVI.
What re-
criminati-
ons may
be allowed
them.

lumnies our adversaries are accustom'd to load us with: I require of them but two conditions, which they cannot but deem just: in the first place, not to think of accusing us of *Variations* in matters of *Faith*, till they have clear'd themselves: for they must own, this would not be answering this history, but casting dust into the readers eyes and dextrously deluding him: secondly, not to oppose reasonings or conjectures against certain facts, but certain facts against certain facts, and authentick decisions of *Faith* against authentick decisions of *Faith*. And, if by such proofs they shew us the least inconstancy, or the least *Variation* in the *Dogmata* of the *Catholick Church* from her first origine down to us, that is, from *Christianity's* first foundation; readily will I own to them they are in the right, and I my self will suppress this my whole History.

XXVII.
This History very
conducive
to the
knowledge
of truth.

'Tis not, however, my design to make a jejune and insipid recital of *Protestant Variations*. I shall discover their causes: I shall shew, that no Change hath happen'd amongst them, which does not mark out an *inconsistency* in their Doctrine, and is not the necessary result from it: their *Variations*, like those of the *Arians*, will discover, what they would fain have excused, have supplied,

supplied, have disguised in their belief. Their disputes, their contradictions, and their equivocations will bear witness to *Catholick* verity; which, from time to time, must also be represented such as it is in itself, in order to make appear, by how many ways, its enemies have been forced at length to draw near to it again. Thus, in the very midst of so many disputes, the dark and inevitable confusions of the new *Reform*, *Catholick* truth, like a beautiful sun piercing thro' opaque clouds, will every where display its lustre; and this treatise, should but the execution come up to the desire God hath inspir'd me with, will be so much the more a sensible demonstration of the Justice of our cause, as it will proceed from principles and facts allow'd for certain on all hands.

In short, the contests and agreements of *Protestants* will point out to us in what, on one side or the other, they have placed the *fundamentals* of *Religion*, and the stress of the dispute; what must, amongst them, be submitted to and own'd; what, at least, must be tolerated according to their Principles. The *Confession* of *Ausburg* only, with its *Apology*, will decide more points in our favour than one thinks, and

XXVIII.
And to facilitate a
re-union.

I dare say, what is most *essential*. We shall make the *Calvinist* then sensible, complaisant to some, and inexorable to others, that, what appears to him odious in the *Catholick*, and not so in the *Lutheran*, at bottom hath no real difference. When it shall appear, that what is aggravated against one, is minced and borne with in the other, this will evince sufficiently, such dealings proceed not from principle, but aversion, which ever was the true spirit of *Schism*. This trial, which the *Calvinist* may here put himself to, will reach much further than he is aware. The *Lutheran* will also find disputes greatly abridged by the truths he already owns, and this work, which at first might seem litigious, will, in the main, prove much more calculated for peace than strife.

XXIX.
How Ca-
tholicks
ought to
be affected
with this
History.

The *Catholick*, for his part, will every where praise the *Almighty* for the continual protection he affords his *Church*, in order to maintain her simplicity and inflexible uprightness amidst the subtilties, with which men strive to embroil the *Gospel-truths*. The perverseness of *Hereticks* will be a great spectacle to the humble of heart. They will learn to despise that knowledge which puffs up, and that eloquence which dazles:

dazles: and the talents, which the world admires, will appear to them of little worth, when they behold such vain curiosities, such *caprices* in learned men, such dissimulation, such artifices in the politest writers, so much vanity and ostentation, such dangerous illusions amongst those call'd fine wits, and lastly, so much arrogance and passion, and consequently so frequent and so manifest errors in men that appear great, because they lead the way and are follow'd by the crowd. They will deplore the miseries of the human mind, and be convinced, the only remedy for these great evils, is to break off all attach to private judgment, for this it is which distinguishes *Catholick* from *Heretick*. The property of a *Heretick*, to wit, one that hath a *particular* opinion, is to be wedded to his own conceits; the property of a *Catholick*, that is, *universal*, is to prefer the *general* sense of the whole *Church*, to his own sentiments: this is the grace God is to be petition'd for in behalf of those that err. And yet, beholding such dangerous and such slippery temptations as he sometimes sends unto, and the judgments he exercises on his Church, they will be seiz'd with a holy and humble terrour, nor cease to put up
prayers

prayers to obtain for her Pastors equally enlightened and exemplary, since it was thro' the want of many such, that the Flock was so miserably ravaged, which had been purchased at so great a price.



A



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK I.

From the Year 1517, to 1520.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The beginning of Luther's disputes. His agitations. His submissions to the Church and Pope. The foundations of his Reformation laid in imputed justice; his unheard of propositions; his condemnation. His passion, furious threats, vain prophecies, and the miracles of which he boasts. The Papacy to be overthrown all of a sudden without violence. He promises he will not permit men to rise in arms for the maintenance of his Gospel.



REFORMATION of Church-discipline was wish'd for several Ages since. *Who will grant me, cried St. Bernard, to see, before I die, the Church of God such as she was in primitive times?* If this holy man had any thing

I. A Reformation of the Church desired many Ages ago.

Bern.
Epist.
257. ad
Eug. Pa-
pam.

Guill. Du-
rand. Epif.
Mimat.
Speculator
dictus.
Tract. de
modo Gen.
Conc. celeb.
Tit. 1.
part. 1.
Tit. 1.
part. 3.
ejusd. part.
Tit. 33.
&c.

Ep. 1. Ju-
lia. Card.
ad Eug. iv.
inter Op.
Æn Silv.
p. 66.

to regret at his death, it was, that he had not seen so happy a change. His whole life long he bemoan'd the Grievances of the *Church*. He never ceased giving notice of them to the People, the Clergy, the Bishops, and Popes themselves. Nor did he conceal his sentiments on this head from his own Religious, who partook of his affliction in their solitude, and so much the more gratefully extoll'd the divine Goodness, which had drawn them to it, as the World was more universally corrupted. Disorders had but augmented since that time. The *Roman Church*, the Mother of Churches, which had for nine whole Ages, by setting first the example of an exact observance of Ecclesiastical Discipline, maintain'd it throughout the universe to her utmost power, was not exempt from evil; and so long since as the Council of *Vienne*, a great Prelate commission'd by the Pope to prepare matters there to be treated on, laid it down for a ground-work to this holy *Assembly*, that they ought to reform the *Church in the Head and Members*. The great *Schism*, which happen'd soon after, made this saying current, not among particular Doctors only, as *Gerson*, *Peter d'Ailly*, and other great men of those times, but in Councils too, and nothing was more frequently repeated in those of *Pisa* and *Constance*. What happen'd in the Council of *Basil*, where a *Reformation* was unfortunately eluded, and the *Church* re-involved in new Divisions, is well known. The disorders of the *Clergy*, chiefly of those in *Germany*, were represented in this manner to *Eugenius IV.* by *Cardinal Julian*: *These disorders*, said he, *excite the peoples hatred against the whole Ecclesiastical Order, and should they not be corrected, it is to be fear'd, lest the Laity, like the Hussites, fall foul on the Clergy as they loudly threaten us.* If the *Clergy of Germany* were not speedily re-
form'd,

form'd, he foretold, that to the Heresy of *Bobemia*, and tho' it were *extinguish'd*, another still more dangerous would soon succeed; for it will be said, *Ibid. p. 67.* proceeded he, *That the Clergy are incorrigible and will apply no remedy to their disorders. When they shall find no hopes left of our amendment,* continued this great Cardinal, *then will they fall upon us. The minds of men are big with expectation of what measures will be taken, and full-ripe they seem for something tragical? The rancour, they have imbibed against us, becomes manifest: they will soon think it an agreeable sacrifice to God, to plunder and abuse Ecclesiasticks, as abandon'd to extream disorders, and hateful to God and man. The now but small remains of respect to the sacred* *Ibid. 68.* *Order, will shortly be quite extinguish'd. The blame of all these abuses will be thrown on the Court of Rome, which will be reckon'd the sole cause thereof, because it had neglected to apply the necessary remedy. He afterwards spoke more emphatically: I see, said he, the ax is at the root: the tree begins to bend, and, instead of propping it whilst we may, we hasten on its fall. He foresees* *Ibid 76.* *a speedy desolation in the German Clergy. The desire of taking from them their temporal Goods, was to be the first spring of motion: Bodies and Souls, says he, will perish together. God hides* *Ibid.* *from us the prospect of our dangers, as he is used to do with those he designs to punish: We see the fire inkindled before us, and yet run headlong into it.*

Thus did this Cardinal, the greatest man of his time, lament in the fifteenth Century the abuses of those days; and foresee their dreadful Consequences: whereby he seems to have foretold those Evils, which *Luther* was just going to involve all *Christendom* in, beginning by *Germany*; nor was he mistaken, when he foreboded that a despised *Reformation*, and redoubled hatred

II.
This de-
fired Reformation re-
garded not
Faith, but
only Disci-
pline.

against the *Clergy*, would speedily bring forth a Sect more terrible to the Church, than that of the *Bohemians*. Under *Luther's* banner did this Sect appear, and, assuming the title of *Reformers*, gloried they had fulfill'd all Christendom's desires, inasmuch as a *Reformation* had been the long desire of Catholicks, People, Doctors, and their Prelates. In order therefore to authorize this pretended *Reformation*, whatsoever Church-writers had said against the disorders both of the People, and even of the Clergy, was collected with great industry. But in this lay a manifest deceit, there not being so much as one of all the passages alledged, wherein those Doctors ever dreamt of altering the Church's *Faith*; of correcting her *Worship*, which chiefly consisted in the Sacrifice of the *Altar*; of subverting the *Authority* of her Prelates, that of the Pope especially, the very scope this whole *Reformation*, introduced by *Luther*, tended to.

III.
St. Bernard's Testimony.

Bern.
Serm. 33.
in Cant.

Isaiah
xxxviii.

Protestants cite to us St. Bernard, who, enumerating the Church's Grievances, all those she underwent at the beginning during the Persecutions, and those she suffer'd from *Heresies* in her Progress, and those she was exposed unto in latter days by the depravation of manners, allows these to be far more dreadful, because they taint the very vitals, and spread infection through all the Members of the Church: whence concludes this great man, the Church may truly say with *Isaiah*, her most painful and most grievous bitterness is in peace, when left in peace by *Infidels*, and unmolested by *Hereticks*, she is most dangerously assaulted by the depraved manners of her own Children. Even this were enough to shew, he does not, like our *Reformers*, bewail the *Errors* the Church had fallen into (on the contrary he represents her as secure on that side) but such evils only as proceeded from relax'd Discipline.

cipline. Accordingly, when, instead of *Discipline*, the Church's *Dogmata* were attack'd by turbulent and restless men, such as *Peter de Bruis*, as *Henry*, as *Arnold of Bresse*; this great man would never suffer their weakening so much as one of them, but fought invincibly, as well for the *Faith* of the *Church*, as for the *Authority* of her Prelates.

The case is the same with the rest of the *Catholic* Doctors, who, in the succeeding Ages, lamented Abuses, and demanded a *Reformation* of them. Of all these, the most renown'd is *Gerson*, and none more loudly call'd for it in the *Church's* Head and Members. In a Sermon he made after the Council of *Pisa* before *Alexander V.* He introduces the *Church*, requesting of the Pope, the *Reformation* and re-establishment of the kingdom of *Israel*: but to shew, he complain'd of no Error, that could be observed in the *Church's* Doctrine, he addresses the Pope in these words: *Why, says he, do you not send to the Indians, whose Faith may easily have been corrupted, they not being united to the Church of Rome, whence certainty of Faith must be derived?* His master Cardinal *Peter d'Ailly* sigh'd also for a *Reformation*: but the principle he went upon, was far different from that of *Luther*, who, writing to *Melancthon*, gave it for a Maxim, *That sound doctrine could not subsist whilst the Pope's authority subsisted*; whereas this Cardinal was of opinion, that the *Members of the Church* being separated from their Head, during the *Schism*, and there being no *Administrator* and apostolical Director, namely, no Pope that all the *Church* acknowledg'd, it was not to be hoped that a *Reformation* could be well brought about. Thus one made the *Reformation* to depend on the subversion of the *Papacy*; the other, on the perfect re-settling of that sacred *Authority*, which was establish'd by

Bern.
Serm. 63.
66. in
Cant.

IV.
The Testimonies
of *Gerson*,
and Cardinal
Peter d'Ailly
Bishop of
Cambray.

Gers.
Serm. de
Ascens.
Dom. ad
Alex. v.

Sleid lib.
vii. fol.
112.

Conc. i. de
S. Lud.

Jesus Christ on purpose, to keep up *Unity* among his Members, and withhold all in their respective duties.

V.
Two
ways of de-
siring the
Church's
Reforma-
tion.

Matth.
xxiii. 2. 3.

There were then two different sorts of People, who demanded a *Reformation*: one, the truly peaceable and true children of the Church, without bitterness, bewailed her Grievances, and with respect, proposed a *Reformation* of them, and in humility bore with a delay: and so far from desiring this might be procured by *Schism*, on the contrary, they look'd upon a Schism by far the greatest of all Evils: in the midst of these abuses, they admired the *Providence* of God, who, according to his promises, knew how to preserve the *Church's* Faith: and tho' a *Reformation* of manners seem'd deny'd them, free from all sowness and passion, they held themselves happy enough, in that nothing hinder'd them from beginning at home, and perfectly reforming there. These were the strong ones of the *Church*, whose Faith no temptation could shake, or make 'em swerve from *Unity*. There was, besides these, a kind of proud spirits, full fraught with spleen and bitterness, who struck with the disorders they saw predominant in the *Church*, especially in her *Ministers*, did not believe the promises of her eternal duration could still subsist amidst such abuses: whereas, the Son of God had taught to respect *the Chair of Moses*, notwithstanding the evil actions of *the Scribes and Pharisees that sat therein*: these become proud, and thereby weak, yielded to the temptation which, in hatred to those that preside in it, inclines to hate *the Chair* itself; and, as if man's wickedness could make void the Work of God, the aversion they had conceived against the *Teachers* made them both hate the *Doctrine* they taught, and the *Authority* they had received from God to teach.

Such

Such were the *Vaudois* and *Albigenses*; such were *John Wickliff* and *John Hufs*. The common lure, by which they inticed weak Souls into their toils, was this hatred they inspired them with against *Church-pastors*; and this spirit of bitterness had so thoroughly bent them on a rupture, that no wonder, if in *Luther's* time, when invectives and animosities were carried to the highest pitch, the most violent rupture and the greatest Apostacy of course ensued, that, perchance till then, ever had been seen in *Christianity*.

Martin Luther, an *Austin-Friar* by profession, *Doctor* and Professor of *Divinity* in the university of *Wittemberg*, was the first spring of these commotions. Both of those parties, which call'd themselves *Reform'd*, equally have own'd him for the author of this new Reformation. Not only his Followers, the *Lutherans*, strove who should praise him most, but even *Calvin* is often in admiration of his virtues, his magnanimity, his constancy, and the incomparable industry, with which he bestir'd himself against the *Pope*: he is the *trumpet*, or rather *thunder*, he is the *lightning* that awaked the World from their lethargick slumber; it was not *Luther* that spoke, but *God* that thunder'd from his mouth.

True it is, he had a strength of Genius; a vehemency in his Discourses; an impetuous and sprightly Eloquence, which ravish'd the people and bore all before him; an extraordinary hardihood when back'd and applauded, with an air of authority that made his Disciples tremble: insomuch, that neither in little things or in great durst they venture to contradict him.

Here should I relate the beginnings of the Quarrel in 1517, were they not known by all mankind. For who is ignorant of the publi-

VI.
Luther's
beginnings
and quali-
fications.

Calv. 2.
def. cont.
Westph.
opus. f.
785. 787.
& seq.
Ref. cont.
Pigh. Ibid.
fol. 137.
141, &c.

MDXVII.
MDVIII.
MDXIX.

cation of *Leo the Tenth's Indulgences*, and the jealousy of the *Austin-Friars* against the *Dominicans*, who were on this occasion prefer'd before them? who does not know that *Luther*, an *Augustinian* Doctor, being pitch'd upon to maintain the credit of his Order, first attack'd the abuses many made of *Indulgences*, and the extravagances that were utter'd from the pulpit on that subject? but he had too much fire to keep himself within these bounds: from the abuses of the thing, he soon came to the thing itself. He went on step by step, and tho', always diminishing *Indulgences* and reducing them almost to nothing by his method of explaining them; nevertheless, he made as if he were agreed with his adversaries in the main; as, when he began to write his propositions, appears from one of them couch'd in these terms: *Whoever denies the truth of the Pope's Indulgences, let him be accursed.*

Prop.

1517. 71.

T. I.

Viteb.

Mean while one subject led him on to another. As that of *Justification* and the efficacy of the Sacraments nearly border'd on *Indulgences*, *Luther* fell to work on these two Articles, and this dispute became soon the most important.

VII.
The
ground-
work of
Luther's
Reforma-
tion. What
means im-
puted
justice and
justificati-
on by
Faith.

Justification is that grace, which remitting to us our sins, renders us at the same time agreeable to God. What wrought this effect was, till then, believ'd to proceed indeed from God, but yet necessarily to be in man; and that to be justified, to wit, of a sinner to be made just, it was necessary he should have this justice in him: in the same manner, as to be learned and virtuous, one must have in him learning and virtue. But *Luther* had not follow'd so simple an idea. He would have it, that what justifies us, and renders us agreeable to God, was nothing in

us;

us; but we were justified, because God *imputed* to us the justice of *Jesus Christ* as if it were our own, and because, by *Faith*, we could indeed appropriate it to ourselves.

But the mystery of this *justifying Faith* had something in it, that was very singular: in that, it did not consist in believing in general in a *Saviour*, his mysteries, and his promises; but, in most assuredly believing, each one in his heart, that all our sins are forgiven us. We are justified, continually said *Luther*, from the time we with *certainty* believe ourselves so; and the *certainty* he requir'd, was not that moral *certainty* alone, which grounded on reasonable *Motives*, excludes trouble and perturbation: but an *absolute*, an *infallible certainty*, whereby the sinner is to believe himself justified with the same *Faith*, as he believes *Christ's Incarnation*.

Without this *certainty* there was no *Justification* for the faithful. For they were told, they could neither call on God, nor trust in him alone, whilst they had the least doubt, not of the divine goodness in general only, but of that particular goodness, by which God *imputes* to each one of us the *justice* of *Jesus Christ*; and this it is he call'd *special Faith*.

Here a new difficulty arose: *viz.* For man to be assured of his *Justification*, whether it were not equally necessary to be, at the same time, assured of the sincerity of his *Repentance*? this presently occur'd to every one; and whereas God promised to justify the repentant only; if we are assured of our *Justification*, it seems necessary, we should be withal assured of the sincerity of our *Repentance*. But *Luther* abhor'd this last *certainty*; and so far from being assured of the sincerity of *Repentance*, one was not even assured, said he, (on account of the most hidden vice of vain-glory

VIII.
Luther's
special
Faith, and
the cer-
tainty of
Justifica-
tion.
Luther. T.
1. *Vit.*
Prop.
1518f.52.
Serm. de
Indulg.
f. 61. *Act.*
ap. *Legat.*
Apost. f.
211. *Luth.*
ad *Frider.*
f. 22.

IX.
According
to *Luther*,
man is as-
sur'd of
his *Justifi-*
cation
without
being as-
sur'd of his
Repen-
tance.
Luth. T.
1. *Prop.*
1518.
or *Prop.* 48.

or self-love) that he did not commit many mortal sins in his very best actions.

Prop. Hci-
dels. An.
1518.
Ibid. Prop.
3.4.7. 11.

Luther went still much farther: for he had invented this distinction betwixt the works of God, and those of men; that *The works of men, however beautiful in appearance might seemingly be good; yet were they grievous sins: on the other hand, the works of God, however deform'd in appearance might seemingly be bad, yet were they of an eternal merit.* Deceived by his *antithesis*, and this jingle of words, Luther imagined he had found out the true difference of God's works from those of men, not so much as considering that the good works of men are also the works of God, who by his grace produces them in us; which, according to Luther himself, should give them *an eternal merit*: but this is what he was resolved to shun; on the contrary concluding, *That all the works of the Just would be mortal sins, were they not fearful of their being so; nor could there be any avoiding presumption, or having a true hope, if in every action they perform'd, they did not fear damnation.*

Ibid.

Repentance, doubtless, is not compatible with mortal sins actually committed: for to be truly repentant of some grievous sins, and not of all, or to be so for them whilst one commits them, is a thing impossible. If therefore we never be assured, that in every good work we fall not into divers grievous sins: if, on the contrary, we ought to fear our constantly falling into such, we can never be assur'd of being truly penitent; and could we but be assur'd of this, we need not, as Luther prescribes, fear damnation, unless we at the same time believe that God, contrary to his promise, would condemn to Hell the contrite of heart. And if, on account of his personal indisposition, of which he was not assured, a
sinner

sinner should happen to call in doubt his *Justification*; *Luther* told him, he was not, indeed, assured of his good disposition, nor did he know, for example, whether he were truly penitent, truly contrite, truly afflicted for his sins: Yet was he not the less assured of his intire *Justification*, because it depended not on any good disposition on his side. For which reason, this new Doctor declared to the sinner: *Believe firmly that thou art absolved, and thou art so, whatever be thy contrition*: as much as to say, whether you be penitent or no, you need not concern yourself. All consists, said he continually, *In believing without more ado, that you are absolved*: whence he concluded, *whether the Priest baptized or gave you absolution in earnest, or in jest, it matter'd not*; because, in the Sacraments, there was only one thing to fear, namely, when you had once wrought on yourself to believe that your crimes were forgiven you, the not believing strongly enough they were all forgiven.

Serm: de Indulg. T. 1. f. 59.

Prop. 1518. ibid. Serm. de Indulg.

Catholicks perceived this Doctrine to labour under a most grievous difficulty; because the Believer being obliged to hold himself assured of his *Justification* and not of his *Repentance*, of consequence ought to believe he might be justified in God's sight, even tho' he were not truly penitent and contrite, which was a wide inlet to *impenitence*.

X.
The inconsistency of this Doctrine.

True it is nevertheless (for nothing ought to be conceal'd) that *Luther* did not exclude from *Justification* a sincere Repentance, namely, the Horror of sin, and the Will to do good, and in short, the conversion of the heart, and judged it as absurd as we do, to be justified without Contrition or Repentance. Betwixt him and *Catholicks*, on this head, there appear'd no difference, unless that *Catholicks* call'd these acts the sinners

sinners dispositions to Righteousness, and *Luther* judged, he styl'd them more justly the *necessary conditions*. But this subtle distinction, at bottom, did not rid him of the difficulty: for these acts, name them as you will, either *Condition*, or *Disposition*, and *necessary Preparation* to the forgiveness of Sin; howsoever that be, it's agreed upon there's no obtaining it without 'em: so that, the question still return'd, how *Luther* could say, the Sinner ought to believe most assuredly that he was absolved, *be his Contrition what it will*; that is, *be his Repentance what it will*: as if the being, or not being *penitent*, were a quite indifferent thing to sins forgiveness.

XI.
Whether
one may
be assured
of his Faith
without
being as-
sur'd of his
Repent-
ance.

*Afs. Artic.
damnat.
T. 2. ad
Prop. xiv.*

Here then was the great difficulty in the new *Dogma*, or, in modern phrase, the new *System* of *Luther*. How was it possible, to have assurance of sins intire remission, when not assured, nay, impossible one should be assured of true *Repentance* and true *Conversion*? But it was enough, said *Luther*, one was assured of *Faith*. A new difficulty; to be assured of *Faith* and not of *Repentance*, which *Faith*, according to *Luther*, always produces. But, answers he, a man may say, *I believe*, and thereby his Faith becomes sensible to him; as if the same person might not in like manner say, *I repent*, and so become alike assured of his Repentance. If, lastly, it be reply'd that the doubt will still remain whether he repent, or no, as he ought to do; I say the same of *Faith*, and the upshot of the whole is this, that the sinner must rest assured of his *Justification*, without the possibility of an assurance, that he hath fulfill'd, as he ought, that necessary condition of obtaining it, which God required at his hands.

Here reason was again involved in a new labyrinth. Altho' *Faith* did not, in *Luther's* opinion, dispose to *Justification* (for he ever had an aversion

aversion to these *dispositions*) it was however, the necessary condition and the only means of appropriating to us *Jesus Christ* and his *Justice*. If therefore, after all the efforts that a sinner makes in order fully to persuade himself, his sins are forgiven him through his *Faith*, this question could start within him, who will tell me, weak and imperfect as I am, whether or no I have that true Faith which changes the heart? this, says *Luther*, is a temptation. We ought to believe, that, by *Faith*, all our sins are forgiven us, without perplexing ourselves whether this *Faith* be such as God requires, nay, without so much as thinking of it. For this thought alone would be making the grace of *Justification* depend on a thing which may be in us; which the gratuitousness, as I may say, of *Justification* would not endure, according to his notions.

Notwithstanding this certainty of sins forgiveness advanced by *Luther*, he nevertheless declared there was a certain state dangerous to the Soul, which he call'd *security*. *Let the faithful take heed*, says he, *that they come not to a security*; and immediatly after: *There is a detestable arrogance and security in those who flatter themselves, and are not truly afflicted for their sins, which are still deeply radicated in their hearts*. If to these two *Theses* of *Luther* we join that in which he said, as is already seen, that, on account of self-love, *one could never be assured, he did not commit many mortal sins in his very best actions*, insomuch that, *he ought always to fear Damnation*: it might seem that this Doctor, in the main, agreed with *Catholicks*; and that this certainty he lays down, was not to be taken, as it hath been by me, in the most rigorous sense. But in that we should be deceived. *Luther* literally maintains these two propositions which appear

XII.
The security which
Luther
blames.

5. *Disp.*
1538.
Prop. 44,
45. 1. T.

Vid. S. n.
ix.

Prop.
1418.
48. T. 1.

so contrary : *Man is never assured that he grieves for his sins as he ought to do ; and, he must rest assured that he hath gain'd the forgiveness of them :* from whence follow these two other propositions which seem not less opposite : *certainty is to be admitted : security is to be fear'd.* But what is then this *certainty*, if it be not *security* ? this was the inexplicable knot of *Luther's* Doctrine, which could never be unravelled.

XIII.
Luther's
answer by
the distinc-
tion of
two sorts
of sins.

*Luth. The-
mata* T. 1.
f. 490.
Conf. Aug.
cap. de
bon. op.
Synt. Gen.
2. part. p.
21.

For my part, all I could ever find in his works tending to unfold this mystery, is the distinction he makes between sins committed unwittingly, and those committed *wittingly and against conscience : Lapsus contra conscientiam.* It seems therefore, that *Luther* would have said, a Christian cannot be assured of his being exempt from sins of the first kind, but may be so with relation to the second ; and if in the committing these, he held himself assured of the forgiveness of his sins, he fell into that pernicious *security* condemn'd by *Luther* : whereas, avoiding them, he may have a full assurance that all the rest, even the most hidden, are forgiven him : which is sufficient for that *certainty* *Luther* would establish.

XIV.
The diffi-
culty still
remains.

But still the difficulty return'd : for in *Luther's* Doctrine, it remain'd most certain, that it is never known by man, whether this so hidden a vice of self-love does not infect the best of all his actions ; nay, in order to avoid presumption, he must look upon it as unquestionable, that they are mortally infected with it : that he *flatters himself* ; and that when he believes he *truly grieves for his offences*, it follows not that he really does so much as is requisite for the remission of them. If this be so, whatever he may think he feels within himself, he never knows whether sin reign not in his heart the more dangerously,

dangerously, the more hidden it is. We must therefore be brought to believe, we may be reconciled with God even whilst sin predominates in us; or there never will be any such thing as certainty.

Thus, all we are told of the *certainty* man may have with respect to sin committed against conscience, is nothing to the purpose. 'Twas stopping short of the point, not to acknowledge, that this sin which hides itself, this secret pride, this self-love which lurks in so many shapes, even that of virtue, may for ought we know, be the grand obstacle to our Conversion, and the inevitable subject of that continual fear, which, after *St. Paul*, is taught by *Catholicks*. It was observed by the same *Catholicks*, that all which was answer'd 'em on this head, was manifest contradiction. *Luther* had advanced this proposition: *No man should answer the Priest that he is contrite*, that is, penitent. And as the proposition seem'd very strange, in confirmation of it, he cites these passages: *Saint Paul* says: "I find
 "not my self faulty in any thing, yet am I not
 "therefore justified. *David* says: who know-
 "eth his sins? *Saint Paul* says: he that ap-
 "proveth himself, is not approved, but he
 "whom God approveth." *Luther* from these texts concluded that no sinner is so qualified, as to answer the Priest, *I am truly penitent*: and taking it in rigour and for an intire certainty, he was in the right. According to him, therefore, man was not absolutely assured, he was penitent; according to him, nevertheless, he was absolutely assured, his sins were forgiven him: he was therefore absolutely assured that *forgiveness* is independent on *Repentance*. *Catholicks* puzzled themselves in vain to comprehend these Novelties: here is a prodigy, said they,

XV.
 The con-
 tradiction
 of *Luther's*
 Doctrine.

Affer. Art.
damnat.
ad Art.
xiv. T. 2.

in

in doctrine and manners! nor can the *Church* bear with such a scandal.

XVI.
Sequel of
Luther's
Contradic-
tions.

Ibid. ad
Prop. xii.
& xiv.

2 Cor. xiii.
5.

But, said *Luther*, one is assured of his *Faith*, and *Faith* is inseparable from *Contrition*. To which was reply'd: allow therefore the faithful to answer for their *Contrition* equally with their *Faith*; or forbidding one, forbid also the other.

But, proceeded he, *St. Paul* hath said; *Examine your selves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves*. Therefore we are sensible of, and feel *Faith*, concluded *Luther*; therefore, we feel it not, concluded his adversaries. If it be matter of proof, if a subject of examine, it is not then a thing we know from feeling, nor, as they say, from conscience. That which is call'd *Faith*, continued they, may be perhaps, nothing more than an illusory resemblance of it, or a bare repetition of what has been read in books, or heard from the mouths of others. To be made sure, we have that lively *Faith*, which works the true *conversion* of the Heart, we ought to be sure, sin reigns no longer in us; which *Luther* neither can, nor will warrant to us, *whilst* he warrants that which depends thereon, namely the *forgiveness* of sins. Here is the ever defenceless weak side, the unavoidable contradiction of his Doctrine.

XVII.
The conti-
nuation of
them.

1 Cor. ii.
11.

Nor let this text of *St. Paul* be alledged: *What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him?* True it is: no other creature, neither Man nor Angel, sees ought in us but what we see: but it follows not from thence, that we ourselves do always see it; else, how could *David* have said what *Luther* objected, *Who knoweth his sins?* are not these sins in us? and since it is certain, we do not always know them, man will always be a riddle to himself, and his mind an unfathomable

mable deep. 'Tis therefore manifest folly, to seek for a certainty of the forgiveness of our sin, if we be not certain, we have withdrawn our hearts intirely from it.

Luther spoke much better when first the Dispute began; for here are his first *Theses* on *Indulgences* in 1517, and at the first rise of the debate: *None is assured of the truth of his contrition, much less of the fulness of his pardon.* At that time, on account of the inseparable union of repentance and forgiveness, he own'd the uncertainty of the one imply'd that of the other. He changed afterwards, but from good to bad; retaining still the uncertainty of Contrition, he took away the uncertainty of forgiveness, and no longer was forgiveness to be dependent on repentance. Thus *Luther* reform'd himself. Such advances he made, as his heat against the Church grew higher, and he sunk deeper into *Schism*. In every thing he made it his study, to take the reverse of the Church's sentiments. Far from endeavouring to inspire into sinners, as we do, the fear of God's judgments to excite repentance in them, *Luther* went to that excess as to say, *That Contrition, which look'd back, in the bitterness of heart, on years past, weighing the grievousness of sins, their deformity, their multitude, beatitude lost, and damnation incurr'd, served only to make men greater hypocrites:* As if it were hypocrisy in sinners to begin to rouse themselves from their insensibility.

But he meant no more, perchance, than that these sentiments of fear were not sufficient, unless faith and love of God were also join'd. I own, he thus afterwards explains himself, but in contradiction to his own Principles. For he required, on the contrary (and this, as we shall see hereafter, is one of the *fundamentals* of his Doctrine) that forgiveness of sins should precede

XVIII.

Luther
forgot all
he had
said well at
the begin-
ning of the
Dispute.
Prop. 1517.
Prop. 30.
T. 1. f. 50.

Serm. de
Indulgent.

Adver.
exécr. An-
tichr. Bull.
T. 2. fol.
93.
Ad Prop. 6.
Disp. 1535.
Prop. 16.
17. *ibid.*

L. vii. 42. 43. love, and to this end, abused the Parable of the two debtors in the Gospel, of whom our Saviour said: *He, to whom is forgiven the greatest debt, loveth most.* Whence concluded *Luther* and his Disciples, one did not love, till after that the debt, to wit, the sin, was remitted to him. Such was the great *Indulgence* preach'd up by *Luther*, and by him oppos'd to those, that were publish'd by the *Dominicans*, and granted by *Leo X.* No occasion for exciting fear, no necessity for love; to be compleatly *justified* from all kind of sins, man needed no more than to believe without hesitation that they were all forgiven him, and the business was done in a moment.

XIX.
Luther's
 strange
 Doctrine
 concerning
 the war a-
 gainst the
Turk.
Prop. 1517.
98. f. 56.

Amongst the extraordinary things he every day advanced there was one, that astonish'd the whole christian World. Whilst *Germany*, threatn'd with the formidable arms of the *Turk*, was all in motion to oppose him, *Luther* broach'd this principle: That *it was necessary, not only to will what God requires us to will, but all absolutely that God himself wills*: Whence he concluded, that *to fight against the Turk, was to resist the will of God, who design'd to visit us.*

XX.
Luther's
 outward
 humility,
 and his
 submission
 to the
 Pope.
Resol. de
Pot. Papæ.
Præf. T.
1. f. 310.
Præf.
oper. ibid.
2. Cont.
Prier.
T. 1.
f 177.

Whilst he vented such a number of bold positions, nothing, in the exterior, was more humble than he. A man fearful and retired. By *main force had he been dragg'd into the World*, says he, *and rather by chance thrown into those troubles than with design.* His stile had nothing uniform, was even quite unpolish'd in some places, and this on purpose. So far from promising immortality to his name and writings, he had never so much as sought it. Nay, he waited respectfully the Church's Decision, so far as to declare expressly, *should he not abide by her award, he consented to be treated as a Heretick.* In a word, all he said, spoke his submission, not only to the Council,

Council, but to the Holy See and the Pope himself; who, moved with the clamour, which the novelty of his Doctrine had excited over all the Church, had taken cognisance of the cause; and then it was that *Luther* appear'd most respectful. *I am not so fool-hardy*, said he, *as to prefer my private opinion to that of other men.* Protest. Luther. T. 1. f. 195. Epist. ad Leon. X. ibid. As for the Pope, this is what he wrote to him in 1518, on *Trinity Sunday*: *Whether you give life or death, call me this, or that way, approve or reprove as best seems fitting, I will hearken to your voice, as that of Christ himself.* All that came from him, for three whole years together, abounded with the like Protestations. Nay, he referr'd himself to the Decision of the *Basil*, *Friburg*, and *Lovain* Universities. A while after, he join'd that of *Paris*, nor was there a tribunal in the Church which he would not own.

Act. ap. Legat. ibid. fol. 208.

What he utter'd concerning the authority of the *Holy See*, had the appearance of sincerity. For the motives he alledged, for his attach to this great *See*, were indeed the most capable of gaining on a Christian heart. In a book, he wrote against *Silvester Prierius* a *Dominican*, he begins with citing these words of *Jesus Christ*, *Thou art Peter*; and these, *Feed my sheep*. *The whole world confesses*, says he, *that from these texts proceeds the Pope's authority.* In the same place, after saying, *that the Faith of the whole World ought to be squared by that which the Church of Rome professes*, he thus goes on: *I give thanks to Christ Jesus, for that he preserves on Earth this only Church by a great Miracle, and which alone may demonstrate, that our Faith is true; insomuch that never by any one decree hath she departed from the true Faith.* Even after the warmth of Disputes had somewhat ruffled these good Principles, *the consent of all the faith-*

XXI. The reasons he grounded his submission upon. Cont. Prier. T. 1. 173. 188.

Disp. Lips. T. I. f. 251. ful withheld him in a reverence of the Pope's authority. Is it possible, said he, for Jesus Christ not to be with this great number of Christians? Whereupon, he condemn'd the Bohemians, who separated themselves from our communion, and protested, it should never be his fate to fall into the like Schism.

XXII. His fallies of passion, for which he begs pardon. *Ibid. f. 215.* However, there was something haughty and violent perceptible in all his writings. But, tho' he attributed his passion to his adversaries provocation, who in their turn did not a little exceed, he nevertheless ask'd pardon for it. *I own* (thus he wrote to Cardinal Cajetan Legate then in Germany) *I have been transported indiscreetly, and wanting in due respect to the Pope. I am sorry for it. Tho' urged to it, I should not have answer'd the fool that wrote against me, according to his folly. Be so good, continued he, as to represent the matter to the holy Father: I desire no more than to hear the voice of the Church and to obey it.*

XXIII. A new protestation of submission to the Pope. He offers *Leo X. and Charles V. to be silent for the future. Ad Card. Caj. ibid.* After his citation to Rome, and whilst he was now making his appeal from the Pope ill-inform'd to the Pope well-inform'd, he did not stick to say, *that the appeal, in as much as it regarded him, did not seem necessary to him, he always abiding submissive to the Pope's judgment: Yet, excused his going to Rome, on account of the expences.* And besides, said he, this citation before the Pope, was needless to a man, who waited for nothing but the Pope's Decree, in order to comply with it.

Ibid. Apell. Luth. ad Conc. In the course of this proceeding, on Sunday the twenty eighth of November, he cast in his appeal from the Pope to the Council. But in his act he still persisted to say, *that he neither presum'd to doubt of the Supremacy or Authority of the Holy See, nor yet to say any thing contrary to the power of the Pope well-advised and well-inform'd.*

And

And indeed, the third of *March* 1519, he wrote again to *Leo X.* that *He did not design in any wise to meddle with his, or the power of the Church of Rome.* And, provided the like injunction were laid on his adversaries, he bound himself, as he had done all along, to perpetual silence: for a partial treatment was what he could not brook; and if we may believe him, he would have remain'd satisfied with the Pope, had he but imposed on both parties an equal silence: So little was this *Reformation*, so much since boasted of, deem'd necessary by him to the *Church's* welfare.

*Luth. ad
Leon. X.*

1519.
ibid.

Ibid.

As for a retractation he would never hear it mention'd, however sufficient matter, as above observed, there was for it. And yet, so far from exaggerating, I come much short of the whole. But, said he, *Being once engaged, his Christian reputation would not suffer him to abscond in a corner, or to retreat.* This was his excuse after the breach was open'd. But, during the strife, he alledged one, as more submissive, so the more probable. For after all, said he, *I see not to what purpose would be my retractation, since it is not the question, what I have said, but what the Church will say to me, whom I shall not pretend to answer as an Adversary, but bear as a Disciple.*

*Ad Card.
Cajet. T.
1. p. 216.
& seq.*

In the beginning of the year 1520, he spoke somewhat higher: The contest too grew warmer, and the party was increased. He wrote therefore to the Pope; *I abhor disputes: I'll attack no man, nor be my self attack'd. If I be, having Jesus Christ for my Lord and Master, they shall not go unanswer'd. As for recanting what I have said, let no man look for it. Your Holiness with one word may finish all these contests, by bringing the Cause to your own Tribunal, and imposing silence on both sides.* This is what he wrote to

M D X X.

*Ad Leon.
X. T. 2.
f. 2.
6. Apr.
1520.*

*Protest.
Luth. ad
Car. V.
ibid. 44.*

Leo X. dedicating to him withal the Book of *Christian Liberty* full of new Paradoxes, whereof we shall soon see the dire effects. That very year, after the Censure of the Universities of *Levain* and *Cologne* past as well against this as the rest of his Books, *Luther* complain'd thus: *Wherein hath Leo, our holy Father, offended these Universities, that they should snatch out of his Hands a book dedicated to his Name, and laid at his Feet, there to wait his sentence?* In short, he wrote to *Charles V.* That he would be an humble and obedient Son of the *Catholick Church* even to death, and promised to hold his peace if his enemies would but let him. He call'd the whole Universe and the two greatest Potentates thereof to witness that, from thenceforth, a stop might be put to, and no more said on any of those Disputes raised by him, and to this he bound himself in the most solemn manner.

XXIV.
He is con-
demn'd by
Leo X.
and flies
into horri-
ble excess-
ses.

T. i. f. 56.

*Ibid. 88.
91.*

*Affert. art.
per Bull.
damnat.*

But this affair had made too great a noise to be dissembled. The Sentence pass'd at *Rome*: *Leo X.* published his *Bull* of condemnation dated *June 18, 1520*, and at the same time, *Luther* forgot all his submissions, as if they had been but meer compliments. From that time he became all fury. Vollies of libels flew out against the *Bull*. First appear'd his Notes and Comments on it fraught with contempt. Next a Pamphlet bearing this title, *Against the execrable Bull of Antichrist*, which he concluded with these words: *In the same manner that they excommunicate me, I also excommunicate them again.* Thus did this new Pope pass Sentence. He put out a third, in defence of the Articles condemned by the *Bull*. Far from retracting in it any one of his errors, or a little moderating his excesses, he out-did them, and confirm'd every thing, even to this proposition: viz. *Every Christian Woman, or Child,*

Child, in the absence of the Priest, may absolve *Affert art.*
in virtue of these words of Jesus Christ: All *per Bull.*
that he shall unbind shall be unbound; even to *damnat.*
that, wherein he had said, that to fight against *1520. T. 2.*
the Turk, was to resist God. Instead of correcting *Prop. 13. f.*
so absurd, so scandalous a proposition, he main- *94. ibid.*
tain'd it afresh; and taking upon him the Pro- *Prop. 34.*
phet, spoke in this manner: If the Pope be *ibid.*
not brought to an account, Christendom is ruined. *Ibid.*
He that can, let him flee to the mountains; or let
this Roman homicide be slain. Jesus Christ shall
destroy him by his glorious coming; it shall
be he and no other. Then borrowing the words
of the Prophet Isaiah, O Lord, cry'd out this new
Prophet, who believeth in thy word? and con-
cluded, delivering to men this commandment
as an oracle from God: Forbear ye to make
war against the Turk, until the name of the Pope
be taken from beneath the Heavens: I have
said it.

This was telling them plain enough, that
 from thence forward the Pope was to be held
 for their common Enemy, against whom all
 were to unite. But *Luther* spoke much plainer
 afterwards, when vex'd that his prophecies did
 not proceed fast enough, he strove to hasten the
 accomplishment by these words: *The Pope is*
a Wolf possessed by an evil Spirit: From every
Village and every borough men must assemble
together against him. Nor the sentence of the
Judge, nor the authority of a Council must be
waited for: No matter if Kings and Cæsars make
War in his behalf: He that rises in arms under
a thief, does it to his own cost: Kings and
Cæsars bear not themselves guiltless by saying,
they are the defenders of the Church, because
they ought to know, what is the Church. In
short, whoever had believed him, must have

XXV.
 His fury
 against the
 Pope and
 those
 Princes
 that sup-
 ported him.
Disp. 1540.
Prop. 59.
& seq. T.
1. f. 407.

set all on fire, and reduced to one heap of ashes both Pope and Princes that supported him. And what is still more strange, as many propositions as we have seen, were as many *Theses* of Divinity, which *Luther* undertook to maintain. Nor was this an Orator, whom the warmth of the harangue might have hurried into indeliberate Conclusions; but a Doctor that dogmatiz'd in cold blood, and erected all his frensies into *Theses*.

*Adver.
execr. An-
tickr.
Bull T. 2.
f. 91.*

Altho' he did not, as yet, exclaim quite so high in that libel, which he published against the *Bull*, yet the beginnings of this intemperance might have been discover'd in it; and upon the citation which he did not appear to, it was the same passion that made him say: *I defer my appearing there, till I am follow'd by five thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Foot; then will I make my self be believed.* All was in this strain, and throughout his whole discourse appeared mockery and violence, the two marks of exasperated pride.

*Ibid. ad
Prop. 30.
f. 109.*

He was reproved in the *Bull* for maintaining some of the propositions of *John Hufs*: instead of excusing himself, as he would have done heretofore, *it is true*, said he speaking to the Pope, *all that you condemn in John Hufs I approve; all that you approve, I condemn. Here is the recantation you enjoin me: do you require more?*

*Not. in
Bull. T. 2.
f. 56.*

The ravings of the most burning fevers are not more frantick. This was call'd in the Party, height of courage; and *Luther*; in the notes he made on the *Bull*, told the Pope under another's name: *We know full well that Luther will not bate you an inch, because so great a courage cannot relinquish the defence of the truth he has once undertaken.* When in despite that the Pope had caused his works to be burnt at Rome, *Luther*, to be even with him, made the *Decretals* be burnt

burnt at *Wittemberg*, the acts recording this feat, order'd by him to be registred, imported, *That he had held forth with a surprising beautifulness of diction, and a happy elegancy in his mother-tongue.* With this charm he ravish'd and led away mankind. But above all, he forgot not to mention, it was not enough to have burnt these *Decretals*, and it had been much more to the purpose, if the like had been done to the Pope himself; that is to say, added he, moderating a little his expression, *to the Papal chair.*

*Exust.
acta T. 2.
f. 123.*

When I consider so much passion after so much submission, I am at a stand, whence this apparent humility could proceed in a man of such temper. Was it from artifice and dissimulation? Rather was it not, that pride, unacquainted with itself in its beginnings, and fearful at first, sculks behind its contrary, till an occasion presents of appearing to advantage?

XXVI.
How *Lu-
ther* came
at last to
reject the
authority
of the
Church.

After the breach was open'd, *Luther* himself confesses, that in the beginning he was *like one in despair*, nor could man comprehend from what weakness God had raised him to such a courage, nor how from such a trembling, he came to so great strength? Whether God, or the occasion made this change, I leave to the Readers judgment, and for my part, am content with the fact which *Luther* owns during this fright; in one sense, it is very true, as he says, that *his humility was not feign'd*. What might give occasion, nevertheless, to suspect him of some artifice all the while, is that from time to time, he forgot himself so far as to say, *That he never would change his Doctrine: And tho' he had referr'd his whole dispute to the determination of the supreme Bishop, it was on account, that respect ought to be observed towards him, who bore so*

*Pref. op.
T. 1. f.
49. 50.
& seq.*

*Pio. Lect.
T. 1. f.
212.*

great

Præf.
oper. Luth.
T. i. f.
49.

Not. in
Bull. T. 1.
f. 63.
Pf. ii.

Pf. ii.

great a Charge. But, whoever shall reflect on the inward conflicts of a man, whom pride on one side, and the remains of Faith on the other, never ceased to distract interiorly, will not think it at all impossible, that such different sentiments should appear alternatively, in his writings. Be that as it will, certain it is, the authority of the *Church* withheld him a great while, nor can one read without indignation as well as pity, what he writes concerning it. *After,* says he, *that I had got the better of all the arguments which were opposed against me, one remain'd still which with extreme difficulty, and great anguish, I could scarce conquer even with the assistance of Jesus Christ: namely, that we ought to hear the Church.* Grace, as I may say, with reluctance abandon'd this unhappy man. He prevail'd at length, and to compleat his blindness, mistook *Jesus Christ's* forsaking him, for the immediate assistance of his hand. Who would have thought, that the refusing presumptuously to hear the *Church*, contrary to the express command of *Christ*, should be attributed to the Grace of *Christ*? After this fatal victory, which cost *Luther* so very dear, he cries out like one set free from irksom Bondage, *Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their Yoke from us;* for he made use of these words in answering the *Bull*, and in his last struggle to shake off *Church-authority*; not reflecting, that this inauspicious Canticle, is what *David* put into the mouth of *Rebels*, whose Conspiracies were *against the Lord, and against his anointed.* *Luther*, in his blindness, applies it to himself, exulting, that exempt from all constraint, he may henceforward speak and decide as he lists, in all things. His despised submissions rankle in his breast. He keeps no temper. His sallies, that should scandalize his disciples,

disciples, encourage them: They catch, by hearing him, the contagious phrensy. So rapid a motion reaches soon to a great distance, and numbers look on *Luther* as sent by God for the reformation of mankind.

Then he set himself to maintain his Mission as extraordinary and divine. In a letter he wrote to the Bishops, *falsly*, said he, so *styl'd*, he assum'd the title of *Ecclesiastes*, or *Preacher* of *Wittemberg*, which none had ever given him. Nor does he pretend any thing else, but that *He gave it himself; that so many Bulls, and so many Excommunications, so many Condemnations from the Pope and Emperor had stript him of all his former titles, and defaced the character of the Beast in him: Yet could he not abide without a title, and had therefore given himself this, as a token of the ministry God had call'd him to, which he had* RECEIVED NOT FROM MAN, NOR BY MAN, BUT BY THE GIFT OF GOD, AND BY THE REVELATION OF JESUS CHRIST. Here we have his *vocation* on the same footing with that of *St. Paul*, as *immediate* and *extraordinary* as his. On this foundation, at the top of the letter and throughout the whole, he qualifies himself, *Martin Luther by the Grace of God Ecclesiastes of Wittemberg*; and declares to the Bishops, *Lest they should pretend Ignorance, that this is his own title, which he bestows on himself, with an egregious contempt of them and Satan; and that he might with as good a claim have call'd himself Evangelist by the Grace of God; for Jesus Christ, most certainly, named him so, and consider'd him as Ecclesiastes.*

By vertue of this celestial Mission he did every thing in the Church: he preach'd, he visited, abrogated some Ceremonies, left others standing, instituted, and deposed. He that never was more than a *Priest* durst make, I don't say, another

XXVII.
Luther's
letter to
the
Bishops:
his pre-
tended ex-
traordina-
ry Mission.
*Ep. ad fal-
so-nominat.
Episcopos-
rum. T. 2.
f. 305.*

Steid xiv.
220.

another *Priest*, a thing unheard of since the birth of Christianity, but even a Bishop. It was judged fitting by the Party to invade, by force, the Bishoprick of *Naumburg*. *Luther* went to this City, and by a new Consecration ordain'd *Nicholas Amsdorf* Bishop of it, whom he had already made *Minister* and *Pastor* of *Magdeburg*. He did not therefore make him *Bishop*, in the sense he sometimes calls by that name all Pastors, for *Amsdorf* had already been appointed Pastor; but he made him *Bishop* with all the prerogatives annexed to this sacred name, and gave him that superior Character, which himself had not. But all was comprised in his *extraordinary vocation*; and an *Evangelist*, sent immediately from God like another *Paul*, could do all he pleased in the Church.

XXVIII.
Luther's
arguments
against the
Anabap-
tists, who
preach'd
without
ordinary
mission
and mira-
cles.

Matt.
xxviii. 20.

Such attempts as these, I know very well, go for nothing in the new *Reformation*. These *Vocations* and *Missions*, so much respected in all Ages, are nothing more, after all, than *formalities* to those new Doctors, who stand only on what they call *essential*. But these *formalities* of God's appointment, conserve *essentials*. They are *formalities*, if they please, but in the same sense that the *Sacraments* are so; divine *formalities*, which are the Seals of the promise, and the Instruments of Grace. *Vocation*, *Mission*, *Succession*, *lawful Ordination*, are alike, with them, to be call'd *formalities*. By these sacred *formalities* God seals the Promise he made to his Church of preserving her for ever: *Go, teach and baptize; and lo I am with you always even to the end of the World*: With you teaching and baptizing; not with you here present only, and whom I have immediately chosen; but with you in the persons of those, who shall be forever substituted in your place by my appointment. Whoever despises these *formalities* of
legitimate

legitimate and ordinary Missions, may with the same reason despise the *Sacraments*, and confound the whole order of the *Church*. And without entering further into this subject, *Luther*, who said he was sent with an *extraordinary* title immediately from God as an *Evangelist* and *Apostle*, was not ignorant himself that *extraordinary* Vocation ought to be confirm'd by Miracles. Therefore, when *Muncer*, with his *Anabaptists*, assum'd the title and function of a *Pastor*, *Luther* would not suffer the question to turn on what he might call *essential*, or admit he should prove his Doctrine from the Scriptures : But order'd he should be ask'd, *Who had given him commission to Teach?* Should he answer, *God* ; let him prove it, says *Luther*, by a manifest *Miracle* ; for when God intends to alter any thing in the ordinary form of *Mission*, 'tis by such signs that he declares himself. *Luther* had been educated in good Principles, and could not help sometimes returning to them. Witness the Treatise which he wrote of the authority of *Magistrates* in 1534. Remarkable is this date, for as much as four years after the *Ausburg-confession*, and fifteen after the rupture, it cannot be said, that the *Lutheran* Doctrine had not at that time, taken its form ; and nevertheless, *Luther* there declar'd again, *That he had much rather a Lutheran should quit the Parish, than preach there against his Pastor's consent ; that the Magistrates ought not to suffer, either private assemblies, or any one to preach without lawful vocation ; if they had suppress'd the Anabaptists, when they began to spread their Doctrine without vocation, the many evils, which beset Germany, would have been prevented ; that no Man truly pious should undertake any thing without vocation ; which ought to be observed so religiously that EVEN A GOSPELLER (so he calls his own Disciples)*

Sleid. Lib.

v. Edit.

1555. 69.

In Psal.

lxxxii. de
Magist. T.

3.

MIGHT

MIGHT NOT PREACH IN THE PARISH OF A PAPIST, or of a Heretick, without his consent who was Pastor of it : which he said, proceeds he, in warning to the Magistrates, that they might shun those prattlers, who brought not good and sure testimonials of their vocation, either from God or Men; without this, tho' they preach'd the pure Gospel, or were Angels dropt from Heaven, yet ought they not to be admitted. Which is as much as to say, sound Doctrine is not sufficient, but besides this, of two things one is requisite, either Miracles to testify God's extraordinary vocation, or the authority of those Pastors, who were already qualified to confer the ordinary vocation in due form.

When *Luther* spoke thus, he was well aware it might be ask'd, whence he himself had received his Authority; and therefore answer'd *He was a Doctor, and a Preacher, who had not intruded himself, nor ought he to leave off preaching after it had been once forced upon him; neither could he dispense with himself from teaching his own Church; but for other Churches, he did no more than communicate his writings to them, which was but what charity required.*

XXIX.
What
were the
Miracles
Luther
pretended
to autho-
rize his
mission by.

But when he spoke with this assurance of his Church, the question was, who had given him the charge of it, and how that vocation, which he had received with dependance, on a sudden became independent of the whole Ecclesiastical Hierarchy? However that may be, *Luther*, for this bout, was willing his vocation should be ordinary: At other times, when he was more sensible of the impossibility of maintaining it, he styl'd himself, as above, God's immediate Envoy, and glory'd he was deprived of all those titles, which had been conferr'd upon him by the Church of Rome, that he might enjoy hereafter so celestial

a vocation. Then as for Miracles, he was at no loss: He would have the great success of his preaching believed miraculous; and at his renouncing the monastick Life, he wrote to his Father, who seem'd a little shock'd at his Change, that God had with drawn him from that State by visible Miracles. *Satan, says he, seems to have foreseen from my infancy all that, one day, he was to suffer from me. Is it possible that I of all mortals, should be the only one he attacks at this time? Formerly, continues he, you was desirous of taking me from the Monastery. God hath taken me thence without you. I send you a book wherein you'll see, by how many Miracles and extraordinary instances of his power he hath absolved me from the Monastick vows.* These prodigies were not only the hardiness, but also the unlook'd for success of his undertaking: 'Twas this he gave out for miraculous, and his Disciples were perswaded of it.

De vot. Monast. ad Joannem Luth. parent. suum T. 2. f. 269.

They even accounted it as supernatural, that a petty Monk had conceived the courage to attack the Pope, and stood intrepid amidst so many enemies. The people took him for a Hero, a man from Heaven, when they hear'd him defy threats and dangers, and say, *Tho' he absconded for a while, the Devil knew full well (a fine witness!) it proceeded not from fear; that, when he appear'd at Worms before the Emperor, nothing was capable of terrifying him: And tho' he had been assured of meeting there as many Devils ready to seize him, as were tiles on the house-tops, he would have dar'd them all with the like resolution.* These were his ordinary expressions. He had always in his mouth the Devil and the Pope, as enemies he was about to crush; and his Disciples discover'd in these brutish words, a divine ardour, a celestial instinct, and the enthusiasm of a heart inflam'd with the glory of the Gospel.

XXX.
Sequel of
Luther's
boasted
Miracles.
Ep. ad Frid. Sax. Ducem apud Cbyt. L. x. p. 247.

Cbyt. ibid.

When

Frider.
Duci
Elect. &c.
T. vii. f.
507. 509.

When some of his party undertook, as we shall see, during his absence and without consulting him, to destroy Images at *Wittemberg*, I am quite unlike these new Prophets, said he, who think they do something marvellous and worthy of the Holy Ghost, when they pull down statues and pictures. For my part, I have not yet lent my hand to the overthrowing of the least single Stone: Not one Monastery have I set fire to: Yet, by my mouth and pen, almost all Monasteries have been laid waste, and the report is publick that I alone, without violence, have done the Pope more hurt, than any King could ever have done with all the power of his kingdom. These were Luther's Miracles. His Disciples admired the force of this plunderer of Monasteries, never reflecting that this so formidable a strength might be the same with that of the Angel, whom St. John calls the destroyer.

Apoc ix. 11.

XXXI.
Luther
acts the
Prophet,
promises
to destroy
the Pope
immedi-
ately with-
out suffer-
ing the
taking up
of arms.
Epist. ad
Georg.
Duc. Sax.
T. 2. f.
491.

Luther assum'd the tone of a Prophet against those who opposed his Doctrine. After admonishing them to submit to it, he threatned at last to pray against them. My prayers, said he, will not be Salmoneus's Thunder, no empty rumbling in the Air. Luther's voice is not to be stopt so, and I wish your Highness find it not to your cost. Thus he wrote to a Prince of the House of Saxony. My prayer, continued he, is an impregnable bulwark, more powerful than the Devil himself: Had it not been for that, long ago, Luther would not have been so much as spoken of; and Men will not stand astonish'd at so great a Miracle! When he threatned any with the divine Judgments, he would not have it believed, he did it upon general views. You would have said, that he read in the book of Fate. Nay he spoke with such assurance of the Papacy's approaching downfal, that his followers no longer doubted

doubted of it. Upon his word it was taken for granted amongst them, that two *Antichrists*, the *Pope* and *Turk*, were clearly pointed out in Scripture. The *Turk* was just a falling, and the attempts he was then making in *Hungary*, were to be the last act of this tragedy. As for the *Papacy*, it was just expiring, and the most he could allow, was two years respite; but above all, let them beware of employing arms in this great Work. Thus he spoke whilst yet but weak; and forbad all other weapons, but the Word, in his Gospel-cause. The Papal reign was to expire on a sudden by the breath of *Jesus Christ*, namely by *Luther's* preaching. *Daniel* was expresse to the point: *St. Paul* left no doubt, and *Luther*, their Interpreter, would have it so. Such *Prophecies* are still in vogue. The bad success of *Luther's* hinders not our *Ministers* from venturing at the like even now: they know the infatuation of the vulgar ever fated to be charm'd with the same spell. These *Prophecies* of *Luther* stand in his works upon record to this day, an eternal evidence against those, who so lightly gave them credit. *Sleidan*, his historian, relates them with a serious air: He lavishes all the elegance of his fine style, all the purity of his polish'd language, to represent to us a Picture, which *Luther* had dispersed throughout all *Germany*, but the foulest, the vilest, the most shameful that ever was. Yet, if we believe *Sleidan*, it was a *prophetick piece*: nay, the accomplishment of many of *Luther's* *Prophecies* had been seen already, and the remainder of them was still in the hands of God.

Luther was not look'd on as a *Prophet* by the People only. The learned of the party gave him out for such. *Philip Melancthon*, who from the beginning of the disputes, had enter'd him-

Afs. art. damnat.
T. 2. f.
III. ad Prop. 33.
Ad lib.
Amb.
Cathar.
ibid. f. 161.
Cont. Hen.
Reg. Angl.
ibid. 331.
332. & seq.
Sleid. L.
iv. 70.
xiv. 125.
xiv. 261.
 &c.

Mel. lib.
111. Epist.
55.

XXXII.
Luther's
brags and
the con-
tempt he
had of all
the Fa-
thers.

2. Defens.
cont. West-
ph. opusc.
f. 788.

De serv.
Arb. T. 2.
f. 480. &c.

self on the list of his Disciples, and was the best capacity and most zealous of them all, conceived at first a firm persuasion, that there was something in this man extraordinary and prophetick; and notwithstanding all the weakneses, which he descried in his master, it was a long time before he could come off from it; and speaking of *Luther*, he thus wrote to *Erasmus*: *You know we ought to prove, and not despise Prophecies.*

This their new Prophet, nevertheless, fell into unheard of extravagancies. He run all upon extremes. Because the Prophet made terrible invectives, by God's Commandment, he becomes the most profuse of abusive language, and the most violent of men. Because *St. Paul*, for man's good, had extoll'd God's gifts in his own Ministry with that confidence, which manifest truth, confirm'd by divine Miracles from above, inspired him with, *Luther* spoke of himself in such a manner, as made all his friends blush for him. They nevertheless grew accustom'd to it, and call'd it *magnanimity*: admired the *holy ostentation*, the *holy vauntings*, the *holy brags* of *Luther*; and *Calvin* himself, tho' piqued against him, styl'd them so.

Elated with his learning, indifferent in the main, great for those Days, too great for his salvation and the Church's peace; he set himself above all mankind, not his contemporaries only, but the most illustrious of past Ages.

In the question of Free-will, *Erasmus* objected to him the consent of the *Fathers* and all *Antiquity*: *You do very well*, said *Luther* to him: *Boast to us the ancient Fathers, and rely on what they say, when you have seen that ALL OF THEM TOGETHER have neglected St. Paul, and buried in a carnal sense, have kept themselves AS ON SET PURPOSE, at a distance from this morning Star, or rather*

rather from *this Sun*. And again: *What wonder that God hath left ALL THE GREATEST CHURCHES to go after their own ways; since heretofore he left all the Nations of the Earth to do the same?* What a consequence! if God abandon'd the *Gentile World* to the blindness of their hearts, does it follow that Churches, deliver'd from it with such care, must be abandon'd like them. Yet this is what *Luther* says in his *Book of Man's will enslaved*: And what deserves still more to be observed here is, that in what he there maintains, not only *against all the Fathers, and all Churches*, but against all mankind and their unanimous consent, viz, that there is no such thing as *Free-will*: He is abandon'd, as will be seen, by all his Disciples, and that even in the Confession of *Ausburg*: which shews to what excess his rashness carried him, who with such outrageous contempt treated all *Churches* and *Fathers*, in a point, where he was so manifestly in the wrong. The praises, which these *holy Doctors* have with one voice bestow'd on Chastity, rather disgust than move him. *St. Jerom* is not to be endured for commending it. He pronounces, that all the *holy Fathers*, together with him, would have done much better if they had married. In other matters, he is not less extravagant. In a word, *Fathers, Popes, Councils, general and particular*, in every thing and every where, are just nothing to him unless they concur in his sentiments. He makes short work of them, by opposing against them Scripture interpreted his own way; as if before his time men had been ignorant of *Scripture*, or the *Fathers*, who so religiously kept and studied it, aim'd not at, but neglected its true Sense.

Ibid. 438.

To this pitch was *Luther* now arrived: from that exceeding modesty he profess'd at first, he

XXXIII.
His buffoonery and
extravagancies.

Adver. 1.
Papst. T.
vii. f. 45
& seq.

Papafinus.

Ibid. 470.

pass'd to this extreme. What shall I say of his buffooneries no less scandalous than mean, with which he stuff'd his writings? Let but one of his most prejudiced Disciples take the pains to read that one discourse he compos'd against the *Papacy* in the time of *Paul III.* sure I am, he will blush for *Luther*: he will there find throughout the whole, I don't say so much fury and transport, but such wretched puns, such low jests, and such filthiness, and that of the grossest kind, as is not heard but from the mouths of the most despicable mechanicks. *The Pope*, says he, *is so full of Devils, that he spits and blows them from his nose*: let us not finish what *Luther* was not ashamed to repeat thirty times. Is this the language of a Reformer? But the *Pope* was in the case: at that name alone his furies seiz'd him, and he was no longer master of himself. But may I venture to relate what follows in this nonsensical invective? it must be done notwithstanding my abhorrence, that it may appear for once what furies possess'd the chief of this new *Reformation*. I will then force my self to transcribe these words address'd by him to the *Pope*: *My little Paul, my little Pope, my little Ass, walk gently, the frost has made it slippery: thou'lt break a Leg: thou'lt befoul thy self, and they'll cry out, O the Devil! how the little Ass of a Pope has befouled himself?* Pardon me, Catholick Readers, for repeating these irreverencies. Pardon me too, ye *Lutherans*, and reap at least the advantage of your own confusion. But after these foul ideas it is time to see the beautiful parts. They consist in thus playing on Words, *Cœlestissimus, Scelestissimus, Sanctissimus, Satanissimus*: And it 'tis what you find in every line. But what will you say of this fine Figure? *An Ass knows that he is an Ass: a stone knows that it is a stone; but these little*

Asses of Popes do not know that they are Asses. And lest the same shou'd be return'd upon him, he obviates the objection: *And, says he, the Pope can't take me for an Ass; for he knows very well, that through God's goodness and by his particular Grace, I am more learn'd in Scripture than he and all his Asses put together.* To proceed; here the style begins to rise; *Were I Sovereign of the Empire* (whither will this fine beginning lead him) *I would make but one bundle of both Pope and Cardinals, and souce them all together in the little ditch of the Tuscan Sea; this bath would cure 'em; I pass my word for it, and give Jesus Christ for surety.* Is not the sacred name of *Jesus Christ* brought in here much to the purpose? enough said: let us be silent, and tremble under the dreadful judgments of God, who, in punishment of our pride, hath permitted that such gross intemperance of passion should have so powerfully sway'd to seduction and error.

Papast-nuli.
ibid. 470.

Ibid. p.

I say nothing of seditions and plunderings, the first fruits of the preachings of this new *Evangelist*. These served but to foment his vanity. The *Gospel*, said he and all his Disciples after him, has always caused disturbances, and blood is requisite for its establishment. *Calvin* defends himself the same way. *Jesus Christ*, all of them cried out, *came to send a sword in the midst of the World*; blind! not to perceive, or unwilling to perceive, what sword was sent by *Jesus Christ*, and what Blood was shed on his account. True it is, the Wolves, in the midst of whom *Christ* sent his Disciples, were to spill the Blood of his innocent *Sheep*: but did he say, his *Sheep* should cease to be *Sheep*, should form seditious confederacies, and in their turn, spill the Blood of the *Wolves*? The sword of persecutors was

XXXIV.
Sedition
and violence.
De serv.
arb. f.
431. &c.
Mat. x. 34.
47. p.

drawn against his faithful; but did they draw the sword, I don't say to assault their persecutors, but to defend themselves against their onsets? In a word, seditions were raised against *Jesus Christ's* Disciples; but the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, during three hundred years of an unmerciful persecution, never raised so much as one. The *Gospel* renders them modest, peaceable, submissive to lawful powers tho' enemies to the Faith; and fill'd them with a true zeal; not that bitter zeal which opposes sourness to sourness, arms to arms, and violence to violence. Supposing then, if they please, *Catholicks* to be unjust in persecuting: those, who gave themselves out for their *Reformers* on the model of the *Church-Apostolick*, ought with an invincible patience to have begun their *Reformation*. But quite on the contrary, said *Erasmus*, witness to their first settings out: I beheld them coming forth from their preachments, *with fierce looks and threatening countenances*, like Men that just came from hearing bloody *invectives* and *seditionous Speeches*. Accordingly, we found *these Evangelical People* always ready to rise in arms, and equally as good at fighting as disputing. Possibly, the Ministers may grant us, that the *Jewish* and the *Idol-priests* gave room for as bitter satyrs, as those of the Church of *Rome*, however black they paint 'em. When did it ever happen, that *St. Paul's* new Converts, at coming from hearing him preach, fell to pillaging the Houses of those sacrilegious *Priests*, as the auditors of *Luther* and his Disciples have so frequently been seen to do at their breakings up, promiscuously flying to the plunder of all *Ecclesiasticks* without distinction of good or bad? Why do I talk of *Idol-priests*? the very *Idols* themselves were spared in some measure by the Christians. When did it happen at *Ephesus*, or *Corinth*,

L. xix.

113. 24.

xxx1. 47. p.

2053. &c.

Corinth, where they abounded, after *St. Paul's* or the Apostles preaching, that they overthrew so much as one of them? nay, the Town-secretary of *Ephesus* bears witness to his fellow citizens, that *St. Paul* and his companions *did not blaspheme against their goddesses*; namely, that they spoke against false *Deities* without raising disturbances or breaking the publick peace. Yet, I cannot but believe the *Idols* of *Jupiter* and *Venus* were full as odious as the *Images* of *Jesus Christ*, of his *Blessed Mother* and his *Saints*, which our *Reformers* trampled under foot. *Acts. xix.*
37.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK II.

From the Year 1520, to 1529.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

Luther's Variations on Transubstantiation. Carolstadius begins the Sacramentarian contest. The circumstances of this rupture. The Boors revolt, and the part Luther acted in it. His marriage which himself and friends are ashamed of. The extremes he runs into on Free-will, and against Henry VIII. King of England. Zuinglius and Œcolampadius appear. The Sacramentarians prefer the Catholick to the Lutheran Doctrine. The Lutherans take up arms notwithstanding all their promises. Melancthon grieves at it. They unite themselves under the name of Protestants. Fruitless projects of agreement between Luther and the Zuinglians. The conference of Marpurg.

I.
The book
of the Cap-
tivity of
Babylon.
Luther's
sentiments
concern-



HE first Treatise, in which *Luther* fully discover'd himself, was that he composed in 1520, of the *Captivity of Babylon.* In it he loudly exclaim'd against the Church of Rome, which had but just condemn'd him; and amongst those
Dogmata,

Dogmata, whose foundations he aim'd to destroy, ing the
one of the first was *Transubstantiation*. *Eucharist*,
and his
great desire
of destroy-
ing the
reality.

The Real Presence was what he would most
willingly have undermined, had he been able; and
every body knows what he himself declared in his
letter to those of *Strasburg*, where he writes,
that *It would have been a great pleasure to him, had
some good means been afforded him of denying it, be-
cause nothing could have been more agreeable to the
design he had in hand of prejudicing the Papacy,*
but God sets hidden boundaries to the most vi-
olent minds, nor permits *Innovators* to afflict
his *Church* equally with their desires. *Luther* was
irrecoverably struck with the force and simplicity
of these Words: *This is my Body, this is my
Blood: This Body given for you, this Blood of
the new Testament; this blood shed for you, and
for the remission of your Sins;* for thus ought these
words of our *Saviour* to be translated in order
to give them their full force. The *Church* had
believed without difficulty, that *Jesus Christ*, to
consummate his sacrifice and the figures of the
old Law, had given us to eat the proper substance
of his *Flesh* sacrificed for us. She judged the same
of the *Blood* shed for our *Sins*. Accustomed from
her infancy to *Mysteries* incomprehensible, and
to ineffable tokens of the divine Love; the
impenetrable *Miracles* included in the *literal Sense*
had not shock'd her Faith; nor could *Luther*
ever persuade himself, either that *Jesus Christ*
would have obscured, on set purpose, the institu-
tion of his *Sacrament*, or that simple words were
susceptible of such violent figures, or could possi-
bly have any other sense than that, which naturally
enter'd into the minds of all *Christians* in the *East*
and *West*; insomuch that, they never could be put
by it, either by the sublimeness of the *Mystery*, or
by the subtilties of *Berengarius* and *Wickliff*.

He

MDXX.
MDXXI.
MDXXII.
*Epist. ad
Agentin.
T. vii. f.
501.*

*Mat. xxvi.
26. 28.
Luke xxii.
19. 20.
1 Cor. xi.
24.*

II.
The
change of
substance
attack'd by
Luther,
and his
gross way
of explain-
ing the
Reality.

De capt.
Bab. T. 2.

He was determin'd, nevertheless, to mix with it something of his own. All those, who to his time had well or ill-explain'd the words of *Jesus Christ*, had acknowledged, they wrought some sort of change in the sacred gifts. Those, that would have the *Body* there in *figure* only, said that our *Saviour's* Words wrought a change, which was purely mystical, so that the consecrated Bread became the Sign of the *Body*. Those, that maintain'd the literal sense, with a *Real* Presence, by an opposite reason, admitted accordingly an effectual Change. For which reason the Reality, together with the Change of Substance, had naturally insinuated itself into the minds of men; and all Christian Churches, in spite of whatever senses could oppose, had come into a belief so just and simple. But *Luther* would stand to no such rule. *I believe*, says he, with *Wickliff*, that the Bread remains; and with the *Sophists* (so he call'd our Divines) *I believe the Body is there*. He explain'd his Doctrine several ways, which for the most part were very gross. One while he said the *Body* was *with the* Bread, as fire is with red-hot iron. At other times he added to these expressions, that the *Body* was *in the* Bread, and under the Bread, as Wine is *in*, and *under* the vessel. Thence the so celebrated prepositions in the party, *in*, *sub*, *cum*; importing that the *Body* is in the Bread, under the Bread, and with the Bread. But *Luther* was very sensible, that these words, *This is my Body*, required something more than placing the *Body in* this, or *with* this, or *under* this; and to explain *This is*, he thought himself obliged to say, that these words, *This is my Body*, imported, this Bread is *substantially* and *properly* my *Body*; a thing unheard-of and intangled with insuperable difficulties.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, in order to surmount them, some of *Luther's* Disciples maintain'd, that the Bread was made the Body of our Lord, and the Wine his precious Blood, as the *divine Word* was made Man: so that in the *Eucharist*, a true *Impanation* was made, as in the *Virgin's* Womb, a true *Incarnation*. This opinion, which had been broach'd even in *Berengarius's* time, was renew'd by *Oslander* one of the chief *Lutherans*. A thing unintelligible to man. Every body saw, that for Bread to be the Body of our Lord, and Wine his Blood, by that kind of union, which Divines call *personal* or *hypostatic*, how necessary it was, that, as Man is the *person*, the Body should also be the *person*, and the Blood likewise; which destroys the very principles of reasoning and human language. The human Body is part of the *person*, but not itself the *person*, nor the whole, nor, as they speak in schools, the *suppositum*. The Blood is still less so, and this is in no kind the case where *personal* union can find admittance. Every one is not learned enough rightly to employ the term of *hypostatic union*; but when it is once explained, every body must perceive what it can suit with. So, *Oslander* was left to defend alone his *Impanation* and *Invination*, and to say as much as he pleased, *This Bread is God*; for he went to that excess. But so enormous an opinion needed not refuting: it fell of itself by its own absurdity, nor was it approved by *Luther*.

III.
Impanation set up by some *Lutherans*, and rejected by *Luther*.

Mel. lib.
II. Ep.
447.

Yet, what he himself said led the direct way to it. There was no conceiving, how Bread, remaining Bread, could be at the same time, the true Body of our Lord, as he asserted, without admitting betwixt both, this *hypostatic union* rejected by him. But he was resolute in rejecting

IV.
Luther's Variations on Transubstantiation: a new way of deciding in matters of Faith.

rejecting it, and nevertheless, united both substances, even so far as to say that one was the other.

At first however he spoke but doubtfully of the change of *substance*, and tho' he preferred that opinion, which retains the Bread, to that which changes it into the Body; the matter seem'd but trivial to him. I permit, says he, *both one and the other opinion; the scruple is the only thing I take away.* Such was the decision of this new Pope; *Transubstantiation* and *Consubstantiation* were alike indifferent to him. In another place, having been upbraided with making the Bread remain in the *Eucharist*, he owns as much: but subjoins he, *I do not condemn the contrary opinion: I only say, it is not an article of Faith.* But in the answer he made to *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, who had refuted his *Captivity*, he soon advanced much farther. *I had taught*, says he, *it matter'd not, whether, in the Sacrament, Bread remain'd or no: but now I Transubstantiate my opinion; I say, it is an impiety and a Blasphemy to hold that the Bread is Transubstantiated; and he carries his condemnation to an Anathema.* The motive which he alledges for this Change is remarkable. This is what he writes in his Book to the *Vaudois*: *True it is, I believe it an error to say, the Bread does not remain, altho' this error hath appeared to me hitherto but of light importance; but now that we are too much pressed to admit this error without the authority of Scripture; to spite the Papists, I am determin'd to believe, that the Bread and Wine remain.* This was what drew on Catholicks the *Anathematism* of *Luther*. Such were his sentiments in 1523. We shall see, whether he will persist hereafter in them; but it may not be amiss to observe, even in this place, that

MDXXIII.

De capt.
Babyl. T.
z. f. 66.
Resp. ad
Artic.
extract.
ibid. 172.
Cont. Reg.
Angl. T. 2.

that a letter is produced by *Hospinian*, in which *Melancthon* accuses his Master of allowing *Transubstantiation* to certain *Churches* in *Italy*, whom he had written to on that subject. The date of this letter is in 1534, twelve years after he had answer'd the *King of England*. *Hosp. p. 2. f. 184.*

Now his transports of passion against this Prince were so violent, that the *Lutherans* themselves cried shame on it. There was nothing but atrocious contumelies, outrageously giving him the lie in every page. *He was a Fool, an Idiot, the most brutal of all Swine and Asses*. Sometimes he bespeaks him in this terrible manner: *Beginnest thou to blush, Henry, no longer King, but sacrilegious wretch?* His beloved disciple *Melancthon* durst not reprove, and knew not how to excuse him. Some of his Disciples were even scandalized at the villanous contempt, with which he treated all that the World esteems most honourable, and at his fantastical manner of deciding in controversies of *faith*. To define one way, and then all on a sudden, the quite contrary, meerly in despite of *Papists*, was too visibly abusing the authority that was given him, and insulting, as one may say, over the credulity of mankind. But he had quite gain'd the mastery of them all, and whatever he said, they durst not but approve.

Erasmus, astonish'd at the extravagance of passion, which he had strove in vain to moderate with his advice, in a letter to his friend *Melancthon* lays forth all the causes of it: *What shocks me most in Luther is, says he, that whatever he takes in hand to maintain he carries to extremity and excess. Warned of his excesses, so far from moderating them, he runs on more head-strong, and seems to have no other design than to proceed to still greater excesses. By his Writings, adds he, I* know

V.
Strange flights of passion in the Books against Henry VIII. King of England. *Cont. Reg. Ang. ibid.* 333.

VI.
A letter of *Erasmus* to *Melancthon* concerning *Luther's* transports. *Erasm. l. vi. Epist. 3. ad Luth. l. xiv. Ep. 1. &c.*

Id. lib. xix. Epist. 3. ad Melanct. know the man's temper as much as if I had lived with him : a fiery and impetuous spirit. You see on Achilles, whose warmth is invincible, thro' the whole tenour of them. You are no stranger to the artifices of the enemy of mankind. Add to this so great a success, so declared an approbation, so universal an applause of his audience : against such allurements a modest mind would scarce stand uncorrupt. Altho' Erasmus never left the communion of the Church, yet amidst these disputes of Religion, he always maintain'd a particular character, which makes Protestants allow him sufficient credit in matters he witnessed to. But it is otherwise most certain, that Luther, swell'd up with the victory he thought he had already gain'd over the power of Rome, no longer kept himself within any bounds.

VII.
Division
amongst
the pre-
tended
Gospellers.
Carlostadius
attacks
Luther
and the
Reality.
MDXXIV.
2 Tim. 11.
17. Ibid.
111. 13.
ibid. 9.
Tertull. de
presc. 42.
Ep. dedic.
comm. in
Gal. ad
Carlost.

Strange! that he and his party should have look'd on the prodigious number of their followers, as they all did, for a token of divine favour: without reflecting, that St. Paul had foretold of Hereticks and Seducers, that *Their word will eat as doth a Canker*, and that they shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived. But the same St. Paul hath also said, that their increase is limited, and they shall proceed no further. Luther's unhappy conquests were check'd by the division, which broke out amongst these new Reformers. It has been said long ago, that the Disciples of Innovators believe they have a right to innovate after the example of their Masters: The heads of Rebels meet with Rebels as rash as themselves, and without further moralizing, to speak the bare fact, *Carlostadius*, whom Luther had so much commended however unworthy, and call'd him his venerable Preceptor in Jesus Christ, found himself able to make head against him. Luther had attack'd the Change of substance

stance in the *Eucharist*, *Carlostadius* attack'd the Reality, which *Luther* had not dared to undertake.

Carlostadius, if we believe the *Lutherans*, was a brutal, ignorant person, yet artful and turbulent, void of piety, void of humanity, and rather a *Jew* than a *Christian*. This is what *Melancthon*, one moderate and naturally sincere, says of him. But without citing the *Lutherans* in particular, his friends as well as enemies are agreed, he was the most restless and impertinent of men. There needs no further proof of his ignorance, than the Exposition he gave to the words of the *Eucharistick* institution, where he maintain'd that by these words, *This is my Body, Jesus Christ*, without any regard to what he gave, meant no more than to shew himself seated at Table, as he then was with his Disciples: so ridiculous a conceit that one has a difficulty to believe it ever enter'd into the mind of man.

Mel. lib. Testim. Præf. ad Frid. Mycon.

Zuing. Ep. ad Matt. Alber. Id. lib. de ver. & fals. relig. Hospin. 2. part. f. 132.

VIII. Origine of the contests betwixt *Luther* and *Carlostadius*: *Luther's* pride. *Ep. Luther. ad Gasp. Guttol. 1522. Serm. Quid Christiano præstandum. T. viii. f. 273.*

Before he had brought forth this monstrous interpretation, two great contests had already happen'd betwixt him and *Luther*. For in 1521, whilst *Luther* lay conceal'd for fear of *Charles V.* who had put him under the Ban of the Empire, *Carlostadius* had thrown down Images, taken away the elevation of the Blessed Sacrament and even low Masses, and set up Communion under both kinds in the Church of *Wittemberg*, where *Lutheranism* began. *Luther* did not so much disapprove of these Changes, as he judg'd them done at a wrong time, and in themselves unnecessary. But what touch'd him to the quick, as he plainly shews in a letter he wrote on this subject, was, that *Carlostadius* had despised his authority; and would have set himself up for a new Doctor. Remarkable are the Sermons he made on this occasion: for without naming *Carlostadius* he upbraided the authors of these enterprises, that they had acted

acted without *Mission*, as if his own had been more valid. *Easily*, said he, *could I defend them before the Pope ; but know not how to justify them before the Devil, when this evil Spirit shall at the hour of death, oppose against them these words of Scripture, every plant, that my Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up ; and again, they did run, and it was not I that sent them. What will they answer then ? They shall be cast down into Hell.*

IX.
Luther's
Sermon,
wherein to
some Car-
listad: and
those who
follow'd
him, he
threatens
to retreat
and re-esta-
blish the
Mass :
his extra-
vagance in
boasting of
his power.
*Sermo do-
cens abusus
non mani-
bus sed
verbo ex-
term. &c.*
1521.
ibid. 275.

Thus spoke *Luther*, whilst he yet lay conceal'd. But coming forth from his *Patmos* (so he call'd the place of his retreat) he made a quite different Sermon in the Church of *Wittenberg*. He there undertook to prove, that Hands ought not to be employed in reforming of abuses, but the Word only. *It was the Word*, said he, *whilst I slept quietly, and drank my beer with my dear Melancthon and Amsdorf, that gave the Papacy such a shock as never was done by Prince or Emperor. Had I been minded, he goes on, to have done things in a tumultuary way, all Germany should have swam in Blood ; and when at Worms, I could have put things into such a state, that the Emperor himself had not been safe in it.* This is what history had not informed us of. But people once prejudiced, believed every thing ; and so sensible was *Luther* of his being master, that he durst tell them in full audience : *moreover, if you pretend to continue doing things by these common deliberations, I will unsay, without demurring, all that I have writ or taught : I'll make my recantation and leave you. Remember I have said it, and after all, what hurt will the Popish Mass do you ? One thinks he dreams, when he reads such things in Luther's works printed at Wittenberg : you return to the beginning of the volume to see if there be no mistake, and say in amaze : What is this new Gospel ? could such a one as this*

this pass for a *Reformer*? will men never open their eyes? is it therefore so difficult a thing for man to confess his error?

Carlostadius on his side did not remain quiet, but provoked at being so warmly handled, fell to combating the *Real Presence* as much to attack *Luther*, as from any other motive. *Luther* also, tho' he had thoughts of laying aside the Elevation of the *Host*, yet retained it out of spite to *Carlostadius*, as he himself declares, and lest, proceeds he, it might seem we had learnt something from the Devil.

He spoke not more moderately of Communion under both kinds, which the same *Carlostadius* had introduced by his private authority. *Luther*, at that time, held it for a thing quite indifferent. In the letter he wrote on the reformation of *Carlostadius*, he reproaches him with having placed Christianity in things of no account, communicating under both kinds, taking the Sacrament into the Hand, abolishing Confession, and burning Images. And again in 1523, he says in the *Formulary of the Mass*: If a Council did ordain or permit both kinds, in spite of the Council we would take but one, or take neither one nor the other, and would curse those, who should take both, in virtue of this ordinance. Behold what was called *Christian liberty* in the new Reformation: such was the modesty and humility of these new *Christians*!

Carlostadius being driven from *Wittemberg*, was forced to retire to *Orlemond*, a Town of *Thuringia*, subject to the Elector of *Saxony*. At this time all Germany was in a flame. The *Boors* revolting against their Lords, had taken up arms, and implored *Luther's* aid. Besides their following his doctrine, it was supposed that his book of *Christian liberty* had not a little contributed to inspire them with rebellion, by that bold

X.
Luther decides in the weightiest matters from spite: the Elevation: two kinds.

Luth. par. confels.
Hospin. p.
2. f. 188.

Epist. ad Gasp. Gustol.

Form. Miss.
T. 2. 384.
386.

XI.
How the war was declared between *Luther* and *Carlostadius*.

manner of speaking, there used *against Laws and Legislators*. For tho' he defended himself by saying, He meant not to speak of *Magistrates* or of *Civil-Laws*, it was nevertheless true, that he made no distinction between secular and spiritual Powers; and to pronounce in general, as he did, that a Christian was not subject to any man, was, till the interpretation came, nourishing the spirit of independence in the people and giving dangerous views to their leaders. To which add, that the despising of powers supported by the majesty of *Religion*, was leaving all others destitute of support. The *Anabaptists*, another shoot of *Luther's* doctrine, who form'd themselves by pushing on his maxims to their full extent, mix'd in the tumult of the *Boors*, and began to turn their sacrilegious inspirations to

Steidan.
lib. v. 17. manifest rebellion. *Carlostadius* gave into these novelties, at least *Luther* accuses him of it; and true it is, he had a great intimacy with the *Anabaptists*, murmuring continually with them as well against the *Electors*, as against *Luther*, whom he call'd a flatterer of the *Pope*, chiefly on account of what little he had preserved of the *Mafs* and *Real Presence*: for the strife was, who should most condemn the *Church of Rome*, and depart furthest from her doctrine. These disputes having raised great commotions at *Orlemond*, *Luther* was dispatch'd thither by the Prince to appease the tumult. In his way he preach'd at *Fena* in the presence of *Carlostadius*, whom he fail'd not to charge with sedition. Thence began the rupture. The memorable account whereof, I shall here relate just as it is found in *Luther's* works, as it's own'd by the *Lutherans*, and as *Protestant* historians have delivered it. *Luther's* Sermon being over, *Carlostadius* went and visited him at the *black Bear* where he lodged, a place famous in this

Luth. T. 2.

Jen. 447.

Calixt.

Judic. n.

49.

Hospin. 2.

part. ad

An. 1524.

f. 32.

this History for giving birth to the *Sacramentarian* war betwixt the *New-Reformed*. There amongst other discourses, *Carlostadius* having excused himself the best he could, as to sedition, declares to *Luther*, he could not bear his opinion of the *Real Presence*. *Luther*, with a disdainful air, defies him to write against him, promising withal a Florin of gold if he would undertake it. The money is produced. *Carlostadius* pockets it. They shake hands, mutually promising fair play. *Luther* drinks *Carlostadius*'s health, and to the fine piece he was going to publish. *Carlostadius* pledges him in a bumper: thus was the war declared *German-like*, the twenty second of August, 1524. The parting of the champions was as remarkable. *May I see thee broke on a wheel*, says one; *Mayst thou break thy Neck before thou leavest the Town*, says the other. *Luther*'s entry had not been less extraordinary: for upon his arrival at *Orlemond*, *Carlostadius* had order'd it so that he was received with great volleys of stones, and almost smother'd with dirt. Such is the new Gospel; such the acts of the new Apostles!

Epist. Luth. ad Argent. T. 7. f. 502.

More bloody combats, but perchance not more dangerous, ensued soon after. The revolted Peasants had met together to the number of forty thousand. The *Anabaptists* rose in arms with unheard of fury. *Luther*, call'd upon by the Peasants to pronounce on the pretensions they had against their Lords, acted a very strange part. On one hand, he wrote to the Peasants, that God had forbid sedition. On the other, he wrote to the Lords, that they exercised such a tyranny, as the People could not, would not, ought not to endure. By these last words, he render'd back those arms to sedition which he seem'd to have taken from it. A third letter wrote, in common to both

XII. The wars of the *Anabaptists*, and that of the revolted peasants. The share that *Luther* had in these revolts.

MDXXV. *Sleid. lib. v. Ibid. 75.*

sides, laid the fault on both, and denounced the dreadful judgments of God against them, should they not amicably compose matters. Here his weakness was blamed: soon after, occasion was given of reproaching him with intolerable cruelty. He publish'd a fourth letter, exciting the Princes that were powerfully arm'd, *To exterminate, without pity, those miserable wretches, who had not followed his advice, and to spare those only, who should voluntarily lay down their arms:* as if a seduced and vanquished populace were not a fit object of compassion, but to be treated with as much rigour as the *Heads* that misled them. But *Luther* would have it so: and when he saw so cruel a sentiment was condemn'd, incapable of owning himself ever in the wrong, he made a book expressly to prove, that truly

Ibid. 77. *No mercy at all ought to be shew'd rebels, nor even those to be forgiven, whom the multitude had drawn by force into any seditious action.* Then were seen those famous battles which cost *Germany* so much blood: Such was its state when the *Sacramentarian* dispute added new fuel to its flames.

XIII.
The marriage of
Luther,
which had
been preceded
by
that of
Carlostadius.

Carlostadius, who began it, had already introduced a novelty strangely scandalous; for he was the first *Priest* of any reputation that took a wife; and this example was attended with surprising effects in the sacerdotal Order and Monasteries. *Carlostadius* was not as yet at variance with *Luther*. The marriage of this old *Priest* was laugh'd at even in the party. But *Luther*, who long'd to do the same, said nothing. He was fallen in love with a *Nun* of quality and great beauty, whom he had taken out of her Convent. It was a Maxim of the new *Reformation*, that Vows were a *Jewish* practice, and none of them less obligatory than that of Chastity.

The

The *Elector Frederick* suffered *Luther* to talk after this manner, but could not brook his reducing these notions to practice. He had nothing but contempt for those Priests and Religious, who married contrary to the *Canons*, and that discipline, which had been revered so many ages. Therefore, not to lose his credit with that Prince, he was forced to have patience during his life, who was no sooner dead, but *Luther* married his *Nun*. This marriage happen'd in 1525, that is, in the height of the civil-wars of *Germany*; at which time the *Sacramentarian* disputes were enflamed to the utmost violence. *Luther* was then forty five years old; and this man, who under the shelter of religious discipline, had pass'd his whole youth blameless in continency; in so advanced an age, and whilst he was cry'd up throughout the universe for the restorer of the *Gospel*, blush'd not to quit so perfect a state of life and look behind him.

Sleidan passes lightly over this fact. *Luther*, says he, married a *Nun*, and thereby gave room for fresh accusations from his adversaries, who call'd him madman and slave of *Satan*; but he does not disclose the whole secret: nor were they only *Luther's* adversaries who blamed his marriage; he himself was asham'd of it; his disciples the most devoted to him were surpris'd; and all this we learn from a curious letter of *Melancthon* to his intimate friend the learn'd *Camerarius*.

L. v. f. 77.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 24.
21. Jul.
1525.

It is written all in *Greek*, for so they corresponded on secret matters. He informs him, that *Luther*, when least expected, had taken *Boren* to wife (this was the *Nun's* name) without the least intimation of it to his friends: but that one evening having invited *Pomeranus* the Minister to supper, together with a Painter and a Lawyer, he had the wonted ceremonies perform'd; that it

XIV.
A remarkable letter of *Melancthon* to *Camerarius* on *Luther's* marriage.

was astonishing to see, that at so miserable a time, when good men had so much to suffer, he could not command himself so, as to compassionate at least their misfortunes, but on the contrary, seem'd so regardless of the miseries that threatened them, as to suffer his reputation to be weakened even at a time when Germany stood most in need of his prudence and authority. Then he relates to his friend the causes of this marriage: That he very well knows Luther was no enemy to human nature, and that a natural necessity, he really believes, was what engaged him to this marriage: therefore he ought not to wonder, that Luther's magnanimity should thus be mollified, that this manner of life is low and common, but holy; and after all, the Scripture allows marriage as honourable; in the main, there's no crime in it; and if more than this be laid to Luther's charge, 'tis a manifest calumny. This he says on account of a rumour, which had taken wind, of the Nun's being with child and ready to lie-in, when Luther married her, which proved false. Melancthon was therefore in the right to justify his Master on this head. He adds, that all that can be blamed in this action of his, is the unseasonable time in which he did so unexpected a thing, and the pleasure he thereby gave his enemies, who only seek to accuse him: in conclusion he beholds him full of trouble and vexation for this change, and does what he can to comfort him.

'Tis plain enough, how much Luther was ashamed of and concern'd at his marriage, and how greatly Melancthon was struck, notwithstanding all the respect he had for him. What he adds in the conclusion, intimates likewise, how much he believed Camerarius would be moved, since he says, he was desirous of preventing him, lest through his zeal for the continuation of Luther's glory always untarnish'd, and re-
proachless,

proachless, he should give himself over to too much trouble and dejection at this surprising news.

At first they look'd on *Luther* as a man superior to all common weaknesses. That which he discover'd by this scandalous marriage dejected them. But *Melancthon* comforts his friend and himself, as well as he is able, by reason that, *There may perchance be something in it that's bidden and divine: that he has certain tokens of Luther's piety; and some humiliations befalling them may turn to good, there being so much danger in elevated stations, not only for the ministers of holy things, but for all mankind in general; and after all, the greatest Saints of Antiquity had their failings; and lastly, that we ought to learn to embrace the word of God for its own sake, not for the merits of those who preach it, there being nothing more unjust, than to blame the doctrine for the faults the teachers of it fall into.*

Doubtless, the maxim is good: but then they ought not to have laid much stress on personal defects, not built so much on *Luther*, whom, however presumptuous, they experienced so weak; nor lastly, have boasted to us so much their *Reformation* as the marvelous work of *God's* hand, seeing the chief instrument of this wondrous work was a man, not only so vulgar, but sway'd by such violent passions.

It may easily be judged from the conjuncture of things, that the unseasonableness of time *Melancthon* is so much disturbed at, and that unlucky diminution of *Luther's* glory which he's concern'd should happen then, when they most stood in need of it, regarded, it's true, those horrible disasters, whereby *Luther* himself foreboded the approaching ruin of *Germany*; but more especially regarded the *Sacramentarian* dispute, which *Melancthon* was sensible enough, would weaken the authority of his Master. And indeed *Luther*

XV.
A notable
diminution
of *Luther's*
authority.

Sleidan.
lib. vii.
109.

was not believed innocent of the disturbances in Germany, they having been begun by those, who follow'd his *Gospels* and appear'd animated by his writings, besides what we have seen that he as much encouraged the fury of these Rebel-Peasants at the beginning as he endeavour'd to restrain it. The *Sacramentarian* contest was likewise look'd on as the product of his doctrine. *Catholicks* reproached him that, by exciting so great a contempt for *Church*-authority, and shaking this foundation, he had brought every thing into question. This it is, said they, to have placed the authority of deciding in the hands of every *private person*; to have given them the *Scripture* for so plain and easy, that to understand it, there needed no more than reading it without consulting *Church* or *Antiquity*. All these things grievously perplexed *Melancthon*: he, that was naturally a man of forecast, beheld a division rising in the midst of the *Reformation*, which not only render'd it odious, but enkindled in it an endless war.

XVI.

A dispute
on free-
will be-
twixt

Erasmus
and *Luther*: *Melancthon*
bewails
Luthers
transports.

Ep. Luth.
ad Erasm.
inter Eras.
Ep. lib.
vi. 3.

Other things fell out at the same time, which gave him great anxiety. The dispute about *free-will* was grown hot between *Erasmus* and *Luther*. *Erasmus* was held in great esteem throughout all *Europe*, tho' he had many enemies on all sides. At the beginning of these broils *Luther* left nothing undone to gain him, and wrote to him in such respectful terms as favour'd even of meanness. At first *Erasmus* favour'd him, yet not so as to leave the *Church*. When he saw the *Schism* manifestly declared, he forsook him quite, and wrote against him with great temper. But *Luther*, instead of imitating him, publish'd so bitter a reply soon after his marriage, as made *Melancthon* say: *I wish to God Luther had held his tongue: I was in hopes, age would have render'd him more mild, and I see, that*
spurr'd

spurr'd on by his adversaries and the disputes he's obliged to enter into, he daily grows more violent: as if a man, who call'd himself the world's Reformer, ought so soon to forget his character as not to remain master of himself whatever might be the provocation! That torments me strangely, said Melancthon; and if God lend not his helping hand, these disputes will be attended with an unfortunate event. Erasmus, finding himself so roughly handled by one he had dealt with so mildly, said pleasantly enough: I thought marriage would have tamed him; and deplored his fate in beholding himself, notwithstanding his meek temper, condemn'd, old as he was, to fight against a savage beast, a furious wild boar.

*Ep. Mel.
lib. iv. Ep.
28.*

*Lib. xviii.
Ep. ii.
22.*

Luther's outrageous language was not his greatest excess in those Books, he wrote against Erasmus. The doctrine itself was horrible; for he not only concluded, that Free-will was wholly extinguish'd in mankind since their fall, a common error in the new Reformation; but likewise, that it is impossible, any other should be free, but God; that his Prescience and divine Providence are the cause of all things falling out by the unchangeable, eternal, and inevitable will of God, who thunder-strikes, and breaks to pieces all Free-will: that the name of Free-will is a name which appertains to God alone, incompatible either with Man, with Angel, or any other Creature.

*XVII.
The blasphemies and audaciousness of Luther in his treatise of mans will enslaved.*

*De serv. arb. T. 2.
426. 429.
431. 435.*

Thence he was forced to make God the Author of all crimes; nor did he mince the matter, saying in express terms, that Free-will is a vain title; that God works the evil in us, as well as the good; that the great perfection of Faith consists in believing God to be just, altho' necessarily by his Will he renders us worthy of damnation, so as to seem to take pleasure in the torments of the wretched. And again: God pleases you when he crowns

*Ibid. f.
444.*

*Ibid. f.
465.*

crowns the unworthy; he ought not to displease you, when he condemns the innocent: He adds for conclusion, that he said these things, not by way of examining, but by that of deciding: that he meant not to subject them to the judgment of any person; but advised the whole World to submit themselves thereunto.

*Loc. com. 1.
Edit.
comm. in
Ep. ad
Rom.*

No wonder, such excesses troubled the modest mind of *Melancthon*. Not that he himself, at the beginning, had not given into these prodigies of doctrine, having said with *Luther*, that *God's Foreknowledge renders Free-will absolutely impossible*, and that *God was not less the cause of Judas's treason than St. Paul's conversion*. But besides, that he was rather drawn into these sentiments by *Luther's* authority, than his own choice; nothing was more opposite to his cast of mind, than to establish them in so violent a manner; and he was quite beside himself when he beheld his master's transports.

*XVIII.
New
transports
against the
King of
England.
Luther
brags of
his own
meekness.*

*Epist. ad
Reg. Angl.
T. 2. 92.*

*Ad Maled.
Reg. Ang.
resp. T. 2.
493.
Sleid. lib.
vi. p. 80.*

He saw them at the same time redoubled against the *King of England*. *Luther*, who had conceived something of a good opinion of this *Prince*, on *Anne Boleyn's* account, who was favourable enough to *Lutheranism*, had relented so far, as to make excuses to him for his first heats. The *King's* answer was not such as he expected. *Henry VIII.* reproach'd him with the levity of his mind, the errors of his doctrine, his scandalous and shameful marriage. Thereupon *Luther*, who never humbled himself, but with intent others should crouch to him, and never fail'd to fall on those who delay'd doing it, answer'd the *King*, *That he repented himself for having treated him so mildly; that he did it at the request of his friends, in hopes such sweetness might be serviceable to this Prince; with the same view, he had formerly writ civilly to the*

Legate

Legate Cajetan, to George Duke of Saxony, and to Erasmus, but he found it succeeded ill: for which reason he should not be guilty of the like fault for the future.

Amidst all these excesses, he even boasted of his extreme meekness. For, *relying on the ever firm support of his learning, he yielded not in pride either to Emperor, or King, or Prince, or Satan, or to the whole Universe: but if the King would but lay aside his Majesty to treat more freely with him, he would find that he demean'd himself humbly and meekly to the most inferior persons; a true sheep in simplicity, that could believe no evil of any whomsoever.*

What could *Melancthon* think, in his own temper the most peaceable of men, when he saw *Luther's* outrageous pen raise him up so many enemies abroad, whilst the *Sacramentarian* contest created him so formidable ones at home?

And indeed, at this time, the best pens of the party were at work against him. *Carlostadius* had met with such abettors as render'd him no longer despicable. Eagerly attack'd by *Luther*, and driven from *Saxony*, he retired to *Switzerland*, where *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* took up his defence. *Zuinglius* Minister of *Zurick* had begun, on account of *Indulgences*, to disturb the Church as well as *Luther*, but some years after him. A daring man, whose fire surpass'd his learning. In discoursing, clear and intelligible, nor excell'd by any of the pretended *Reformers* in a precise, uniform, and coherent way of expressing his thoughts: nor indeed did any carry them to a greater length, or with more presumption. As the character of his genius will be better known by his own sentiments than my words, I shall produce a part of the most finish'd piece of his whole works. 'Tis the *Confession of Faith*, which a little before his death

XIX.
Zuinglius
& *Oecolampadius*
undertake
the defence
of *Carlostadius*.
Who
Zuinglius
was: his
doctrine
upon the
salvation
of *Heathens*.

*Christ. fi-
dei clara
Expos.
1536. p.
27.*

death he sent to *Francis I.* There, explaining the article of life everlasting, he says to this Prince, that *He must hope to see the assembly of all men that ever have been holy, valiant, faithful, and virtuous from the beginning of the World.* There you'll see, he goes on, both *Adams, the Redeemed and Redeemer.* You'll there see an *Abel, an Enoch, a Noah, an Abraham, an Isaac, a Jacob, a Judas, a Moses, a Joshua, a Gideon, a Samuel, a Phineas, an Elijah, an Elisha, an Isaiah with the Virgin Mother of God whom he denounced; a David an Ezechiah, a Josiah, a John Baptist, a St. Peter, a St. Paul.* You'll there see *Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, the Cato's, the Scipio's.* There you'll see your predecessors, and all your ancestors, that have departed this World in the Faith. In a word, not one good man, one holy Spirit, one faithful Soul, whom you will not there behold with God. What more beautiful, more agreeable, more glorious can be imagined than such a sight? What man had ever dreamt of thus placing *Jesus Christ* pall-mall with the Saints; and in the train of *Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles* and our Saviour himself, even *Numa* the father of the *Roman* idolatry, even *Cato*, who kill'd himself madman like, and not only so many worshippers of false *Divinities*, but even the *Gods, the Heroes* themselves, whom they worshiped? I can't conceive why he did not rank amongst them *Apollo, or Bacchus* and *Jupiter* himself: And if such crimes hinder'd him, as Poets lay to their charge, are those of *Hercules* less infamous? this is what Heaven is composed of, according to this Head of the second party of the *Reformation*: this is what he wrote in a *Confession* of Faith dedicated by him to the greatest King in *Christendom*; and what *Bullinger* his successor has

*Præf.
Bulling.
ibid.*

has given us *for the master-piece, and last song of his melodious swan.* And is it not astonishing that such as these could pass for men extraordinarily sent by God for his Church's *Reformation?*

Luther spared him not on this head, but declared openly, *That he despair'd of his salvation; because, not satisfied with continuing to impugn the Sacrament, he was become a beathen by placing impious beathens, even Scipio the Epicurean, even Numa the Devil's instrument in founding idolatry among the Romans, in the number of blessed Souls. For what does Baptism avail us, what the other Sacraments, the Scripture, and Jesus Christ himself, if the impious, the idolaters, and the epicureans, are both Saints and in blifs. And what is this else but teaching that every man may be saved in his own faith and religion?*

To answer him was no easy task. Nor did they answer him at *Zurick* any other way, than by a wretched recrimination, and accusing him also of placing amongst the faithful, *Nabuchadnezzar, Naaman the Syrian, Abimelec,* and many others, who, born out of the Covenant and race of *Abraham*, were nevertheless saved, as *Luther* says, by a *fortuitous mercy of God.* But not to defend *this fortuitous mercy of God*, which in reality is something odd, 'tis another thing to have said, with *Luther*, that there may have been men out of the number of *Israelites*, who knew God; another thing, to place with *Zuinglius* in the number of blessed Souls such as worshipp'd false *Divinities*: and if the *Zuinglians* were in the right to condemn the transports and violence of *Luther*, there was much more reason to condemn this prodigious extravagancy of *Zuinglius.* For in short, this was none of those mistakes which the heat of discourse may run a man into unawares; he was writing a *Confession*

XX.

The frivolous answer of those of *Zurick* in defence of *Zuinglius.*

Parv.

Conf.

Luth.

Hof. p. 2.

187.

Apol. Tigu.

Hof. p. 2.

f. 198.

Luth.

Hom. in

Gen. cap.

4. § 20.

Oper. 2. p.
Declar. de
pec. Orig.

Rom. 1.

Confession of Faith, and making a simple and brief exposition of the *Apostles Creed*; a work that, above all others, required a mature consideration, exact doctrine, and a settled brain. It was in the same way of thinking, that heretofore he spoke of *Seneca*, as of a most holy man, in whose heart God had written the Faith with his own hand, because he had said in a letter to *Lucilius*, that nothing was hidden from God. Thus we have all the *Platonic*, *Peripatetic*, *Stoic Philosophers*, listed amongst the Saints, and full of Faith; because *St. Paul* owns they had understood the invisible things of God by the visible works of his Power; and what furnish'd this *Apostle* with reasons to condemn them, in his epistle to the *Romans*, has justify'd and sanctify'd them, in *Zuinglius's* opinion.

XXI.
Zuinglius's
errors upon
original
sin.

Declar. de
pec. Orig.

To teach such extravagancies as these, a man must have had no notion of *Christian justice*, or of the corruption of our nature. And indeed *Zuinglius* was quite a stranger to Original Sin. In that *Confession of Faith*, which he sent to *Francis I.* and in four or five treatises, which he made expressly to prove the *Baptism* of little children against the *Anabaptists*, and explain the effect of *Baptism* in this infant-age, he does not so much as speak there of its cancelling *Original Sin*, which notwithstanding is allowed by all Christians to be the chief fruit of their *Baptism*. He did the like in all his other works: and when the omission of so considerable an effect was objected to him, he shews, he did it expressly, because, in his opinion, *No sin at all is taken away by baptism*. He carries on his rashness still farther, when he says, *It is no sin, but a misfortune, a vice, a distemper; that nothing is more fond, more distant from Scripture-sense, than to say, Original Sin is not only a distemper, but also a crime.* Confo

mab

nably to these principles he decides, that men indeed are born *prone to sin from their self-love*, but not sinners, unless improperly, by taking the penalty of sin for sin itself: and this *proneness to sin*, which cannot be sin, makes, according to him, the whole evil of our *origin*. In the sequel of his discourse, 'tis true, he owns that all men would perish, were it not for the *grace* of a *Mediator*, because this *proneness to sin* would not fail in time to produce it, were it not stopt; and 'tis in this sense he owns that all men are damn'd by the *force of Original Sin*: a force that consists not, as we have but just seen, in making men truly sinners, as all *Christian Churches* have decided against *Pelagius*, but in making them *prone to sin*, thro' the weakness of their senses and self-love, which the *Pelagians* and *Heathens* themselves would not have denied.

Zuinglius's decision, on the remedy of this evil, is not less strange. For he maintains, that it is taken away by the death of *Jesus Christ* from all men whatever, independently of *Baptism*; inso-much that *Original Sin* at this time *damns no man*, not even the children of the *Heathens*; and altho', with respect to them, he dares not put their salvation in the same degree of certainty with that of *Christians* and their children, he says nevertheless, that, like the rest, *as long as they are incapable of the law, they are in the state of innocence*, alledging this text of *St. Paul*: *where no law is, there is no transgression*. Now, proceeds this new Doctor, 'Tis certain, that children are weak, without experience, and ignorant of the law, and are not less without law than *St. Paul*, when he said: *I lived without the law heretofore*. Therefore, as there is no law for them, neither is there any transgression of the law, and by consequence no damnation. *St. Paul* says, that he lived without the

Rom. iv.
15.

Rom. vii.
9.

Rom. vii.
8.

the law once; but there is no age, in which man is more in this state, than his infancy; consequently, it must be said with the same St. Paul, that without the law sin was dead in them. Just so disputed the *Pelagians* against the Church. And altho' as already said, *Zuinglius* here speaks with greater assurance of the children of *Christians* than of others, he nevertheless speaks in reality of all children without exception. It is plain what his proof drives at; and certainly, since *Julian's* time, there never was a more complete *Pelagian* than *Zuinglius*.

XXII.
Zuinglius's
error on
Baptism.

Nay, the *Pelagians* own'd, that baptism could at least give grace, and remit the sins of the adult. *Zuinglius* more rash than they, ceases not to repeat, what has been already related of him, *that baptism takes away no sin, and gives no grace. It is the blood of Jesus Christ, says he, that remits sins; therefore it is not baptism.* Here an instance may be seen of that preposterous zeal the Reformation had for the glory of *Jesus Christ*. It is more clear than day, that, attributing the remission of sins to baptism, which is the means of taking them away establish'd by *Jesus Christ*, is no more doing an injury to *Jesus Christ*, than it is injuring a *Painter* to attribute the fine colouring and the beautiful touches of his picture to the pencil he makes use of. But the Reformation carries its vain reasonings to that excess as to think, it is glorifying *Jesus Christ*, to destroy the efficacy of those instruments he employs, and to run on so gross an illusion throughout, when a hundred passages from Scripture were objected to *Zuinglius*, where it is said, that baptism saves us, that it remits our sins; he thinks he has fully satisfied, by answering, that baptism is here taken for the blood of *Jesus Christ*, whereof it is the Sign.

Such

Such licentious explications make every thing one has a mind, be found in *Scripture*. No wonder *Zuinglius* there finds that the *Eucharist* is not the Body, but the Sign of the Body, tho' *Christ* has said, *This is my Body*; since he was able to find, that *Baptism* does not indeed afford remission of sins, but figures it to us as already given: tho' the *Scripture* has said a hundred times, not that it figures, but gives it to us. No wonder that the same author, to destroy the Reality which incommoded him, eluded the force of these words, *This is my Body*; since to destroy original sin, which shock'd him, he was so well able to elude these: *All have sinned in one man*, and again: *by one man's disobedience many were made sinners*. But still more strange is the confidence of this author in supporting his new interpretations against *original sin*, with a manifest contempt of all *antiquity*. *We have seen*, says he, *the ancients teach another doctrine concerning original sin: but in reading them, it is easily perceived, how obscure and perplexed, not to say, wholly human rather than divine, is all they say on that head. For my part, this long time I have not been at leisure to consult them*. It was in 1526, that he composed this treatise; and for many years before he had no leisure to consult the ancients, nor go back to the fountain-head. Mean while he reformed the Church. Why not, will our *Reformers* say? and what had he, who had the *Scripture*, to do with the *ancients*? But on the contrary, here is an instance, how little safety there is in searching *Scriptures*, when one pretends to understand them, without having recourse to antiquity. By such a way of understanding *Scriptures*, *Zuinglius* found out, there was no *original sin*, that is to say, there was no redemption; and the scandal of the Cross was

XXIII.
Zuinglius
accustom'd
to wrest the
Scripture
in every
thing. His
contempt
of anti-
quity, the
source of
his error.

Rom. v.
12. 19.

made void; and drove his notions to that length as to place amongst the Saints those, who indeed, whatever he might say, had no part with *Jesus Christ*. Thus is the *Church reform'd*, when men undertake reforming it without concerning themselves what was the sense of ages past; and, according to this new method, it is easy arriving at a *Reformation* like to that of the *Socinians*.

XXIV.
The character of
Oecolampadius.

Such were the heads of the new *Reformation*, men of wit 'tis true, and not void of literature, but bold, rash in their decisions, and puff'd up with their vain Scholarship; that took delight in extraordinary and particular opinions, and thereby thought, not only to raise themselves above those of their own age, but also the most holy of ages past. *Oecolampadius*, the other Defender of the figurative sense amongst the *Switzers*, was both more moderate and more learned; and if *Zuinglius* appeared by his vehemence, in some sort, another *Luther*, *Oecolampadius* more resembled *Melancthon*, whose particular friend he likewise was. In a letter, which

Ep. Erasmi.
lib. vii.
Ep. 42. 43.

when a youth, he wrote to *Erasmus*, you observe the marks of a piety equally affectionate and enlightened, together with much wit and politeness. From the feet of the Crucifix, before which he used to pray, he wrote such tender things to *Erasmus* on the ineffable sweetness of *Jesus Christ*, whom this pious image represented so lively to his imagination, that there is no reading of it without being moved. The *Reformation*, which came to trouble these devotions and cry them down for *Idolatry*, began at that time: for it was in 1517, that he wrote this letter. He enter'd into *Religion* in the first heat of these disturbances with much courage and reflexion; at an age, as *Erasmus* observes, too ripe for any imputation of youthful inconsiderateness.

Ibid. Lib.
xiii. Ep.
12. 13.
Lib. xiii.
27.

Erasmus's

Erasmus's letters give us likewise to understand, that he was greatly in love with the course of life he had undertaken, and relish'd *God* in peace of mind, and lived therein quite remote from the novelties, which then were spreading. Nevertheless (such is human weakness, so great the contagion of novelty) he left his Monastery, preach'd the new *Reformation* at *Basil* where he was Pastor, and tired of celibacy, like the rest of the *Reformers*, married a young girl, whose beauty he was smitten with. *This is the way*, said *Erasmus*, *they chuse to mortify themselves*; and he could not but admire these new *Apostles*, who were sure to quit the solemn profession of celibacy to take wives; whereas the true *Apostles* of our Saviour, according to the tradition of all the *Fathers*, to the end they might attend to *God* and the Gospel only, left their wives to embrace *Celibacy*. It seems, said he, *as if the Reformation aim'd at nothing else than stripping a few Monks of their habits, and marrying a parcel of Priests; and this great tragedy terminates at last in a conclusion that's wholly comical, since, just like comedies, all ends in marrying*. The same *Erasmus* complains in other places, that after his friend *Oecolampadius* had abandon'd his tender devotion together with the *Church* and *Monastery*, in order to embrace this barren and scornful *Reformation*, he was no longer the same man; instead of candor, which this minister made profession of whilst he acted of himself, nothing but artifice and dissimulation could be found in him after he had once enter'd into the spirit of the party.

Lib. xix.
Ep. 41.

Ibid. &
xix. 3.

Lib. xviii.
Ep. 23.
xix. 113.
xxx. 47.
Col. 2057.
&c.

After the *Sacramentarian* quarrel had been stirr'd up in the manner we have seen, *Carlostadius* dispersed about little tracts against the Real Presence; and tho', on all hands, they were allow'd wholly to abound with ignorance, nevertheless

XXV.

The progress of the Sacramentarian doctrine.

Eras.
lib. xix.
Ep. 113.
xxxi. 59.
p. 2106.

Lib. xviii.
Ep. 9.

Hosp. 2.
part. ad
lin. 1525.
f. 40.

they were relish'd by the people already charm'd with novelty. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* wrote in defence of this new doctrine: the first with a great deal of wit and vehemence; the other with much learning, and so sweet an eloquence, that, *were it possible*, says *Erasmus*, *and would God have permitted it*, 'twere capable of seducing even the elect. God put them to this trial: but his promises and truth upheld the simplicity of the Church's Faith against human reasoning. A little after *Carlostadius* reconciled himself with *Luther*, and appeased him with this assurance, that what he had taught upon the *Eucharist*, was rather by way of proposing and examining, than decision. This man's life was one uninterrupted scene of feuds: and the *Swiss*, who received him a second time, never could prevail to calm his turbulent temper.

His doctrine spread more and more, but on more plausible interpretations of our Saviour's words, than what he had furnish'd. *Zuinglius* said, the good man saw well enough, there was some hidden sense in these divine words, but could never find out what it was. He and *Oecolampadius*, with somewhat different expressions, agreed in the main, that these words, *This is my Body* were figurative: *Is*, said *Zuinglius*, is as much as to say, *signifies*; *Body*, said *Oecolampadius*, is the *sign of the Body*. Those of *Strasburg* came into the same interpretations. Their leaders, *Bucer* and *Capito*, became zealous defenders of the figurative sense. The Reformation divided itself; and those who embraced this new party were called *Sacramentarians*. They were also named *Zuinglians*, either because *Zuinglius* had first supported *Carlostadius*; or because his authority prevailed in the minds of the people, who were led away by his vehemence.

We must not wonder, that an opinion so favourable to human senses became so much in vogue. *Zuinglius* said positively, there was no miracle in the *Eucharist*, or any thing incomprehensible; that the *Bread* broken represented to us the *Body sacrific'd*; and the Wine, the *Blood shed*; that *Jesus Christ*, at the institution of these sacred signs, had given them the name of the thing itself: that it was not however a simple spectacle, nor signs wholly naked, for as much as the remembrance of, and faith in the *Body sacrificed* and the *Blood shed*, supported our Souls; that the *Holy Ghost*, mean while, seal'd in our hearts the remission of sins; and therein consisted the whole *Mystery*. Human reason and sense had nothing to suffer from this explication. The *Scripture* was all the difficulty: but when one side opposed, *This is my Body*, the other answer'd, *I am the vine, I am the door, the rock was Christ*. True it is, these examples came not up to the Point. It was not in proposing a parable, nor in explaining an *allegory*, that *Jesus Christ* said, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*. These words wholly detach'd from the context carried their full meaning in themselves. A new *institution* was in hand, which ought to be made in simple terms, and as yet, no place in *Scripture* had been found, where the sign of the institution received the name of the *thing* itself the moment it was instituted, and without any previous preparation.

This argument put *Zuinglius* on the tenters: he sought day and night for a solution. In the mean time, however, *Mass* was abolish'd, notwithstanding all the Town-Secretary could do to the contrary, who disputed strenuously for *Catholick Doctrine* and the *Real Presence*. Twelve days after, *Zuinglius* had this dream, which he and his disciples have been so much upbraided

XXVI.
Zuinglius careful to take from the *Eucharist* whatever raised it above the senses.

Zuing. Confess. Fid. ad Fran. I. Ep. ad Car. V. &c.

XXVII.
The spirit which appear'd to *Zuinglius* to furnish him a passage, where the sign of the institution re-

ceived immediately the name of the thing instituted.

Hosp. 2. p.
25. 26.
Exod. xii.
11.

Exod. xii.
11.

Ibid. 27.

with, wherein, says he, imagining he was disputing against the Town-secretary, who push'd him home; on a sudden, he saw a *Phantom*, *white or black*, appear before him, who spoke to him these words: *Coward, why answerest thou not what is written in Exodus, The Lamb is the Passover*; intimating, it was the sign? this is that famous passage so often repeated in the writings of the *Sacramentarians*, in which they thought to have found the *name* of the thing given to the *sign*, and in the very *institution* of the sign; and thus it came into *Zuinglius's* head who first made use of it. Now his disciples will have it, when he said, he knew not whether he who put this into his head was *white or black*, he meant only that it was an unknown person, and the latin terms, it's true, will bear this explanation. But, besides that the hiding himself so as to do nothing, that might discover what he was, is the natural character of an evil spirit, *Zuinglius* was manifestly in the wrong. These words, *the Lamb is the Passover*, by no means signify, it was the *figure* of the Passover. It is a common *Hebraism* where the word *Sacrifice* is understood. So, *sin*, is nothing but the *sacrifice* for sin; and barely *Passover* is the *sacrifice* of the Passover: which the *Scripture* itself explains a little farther on, where it says at full length, not that the *Lamb* was the *Passover*, but *the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover*. This most certainly was the sense of that place in *Exodus*. Other examples were afterwards produced, which we shall see in due time: but this was the first. There was nothing in it, as we see, that should much comfort the mind of *Zuinglius*, or that shew'd him, the *sign*, at the very institution, received the name of the thing. He awaked notwithstanding at this new explanation of his unknown friend, read the place of

Exodus

Exodus, and went to preach what he had discover'd in his dream. Men were too well prepared not to believe him: the mists, which, till then, had remain'd on their minds, clear'd up immediately.

It provok'd *Luther* to see, not now particular people, but whole *Churches* of the new *Reformation*, rise up against him. But he abated nothing of his wonted pride. One may judge from these words, *I have the Pope in front; I have the Sacramentarians and Anabaptists in my rear; but I will march out alone against them all; I will defy them to battle; I will trample them under my feet.* And a little after: *I will say it without vanity, that for these thousand years the Scripture has never been so thoroughly purged, nor so well explained, nor better understood, than at this time it is by me.* He wrote these words in 1525, a little after the quarrel was begun. In the same year he made his book *against the heavenly Prophets*, thereby ridiculing *Carlostadius*, whom he accused of favouring the visions of the *Anabaptists*. This book consisted of two parts. In the first, he maintain'd, it was ill done to break down *Images*; that in the law of *Moses* nothing was forbid to be adored but the *Images* of *God*; that the *Images* of *Crosses* and *Saints* were not comprehended in this prohibition; that none, under the *Gospel*, were obliged to destroy *Images* by force, because that was contrary to *Gospel-liberty*; and those, who thus destroy'd them, were *Doctors* of the *Law*, and not of the *Gospel*. Thereby he justified us from all those accusations of *Idolatry*, we were unreasonably charged with on this head. In the second part, he attack'd the *Sacramentarians*. But *Oecolampadius* he treated moderately enough at the beginning; yet flew out terribly against *Zuinglius*.

XXVIII.
Luther
writes a-
gainst the
Sacramen-
tarians,
and why
he treated
Zuinglius
harder than
the rest.

Ad Maled.
Reg. Ang.
T. 2. 498.
MDXXV.

Zuing. in
explan.
art. xviii.
Gesh. Bib.
&c.
V. Calixt.
Judic. n.
53.

T. 2. Jen.
Ep. p.
202.

This Doctor had written, that, before the name of *Luther* was known, he had preach'd the Gospel, that is, the Reformation in Switzerland ever since the year 1516; and the *Switzers* gave him the glory of this beginning, which *Luther* arrogated wholly to himself. Nettled at these words, he wrote to those of *Strasburg*, that he durst assume to himself the glory of first preaching *Jesus Christ*, but that *Zuinglius* would fain deprive him of that glory. How is it possible, proceeds he, to be silent, whilst these men disturb our Churches and oppugn our authority? If they are unwilling to suffer their own to be weakened, for the same reason they ought not to weaken ours. In conclusion he declares, there is no medium, either he or they must be the Ministers of Satan.

XXIX.
The words
of a fa-
mous Lu-
theran on
Luther's
jealousy
against
Zuinglius.

Calix.
Judic. n.
53.

An ingenious *Lutheran* and the most celebrated of any, that have writ in our days, here makes this reflexion. Those who despise all things, and expose not only their fortunes but their lives, often are not able to raise themselves above glory, so flattering are its charms, so great is human weakness. On the contrary, the higher is ones courage elevated, the more does he covet praises, the more concern'd to see those bestow'd on others, which he believes due to himself. 'Tis not therefore to be wonder'd at, if a man of *Luther's* magnanimity wrote these things to those of *Strasburg*.

XXX.
Luther's
strong ar-
guments
for the
Real Pre-
sence; and
how he
brags of
them.

In the midst of these odd transports, *Luther*, by powerful arguments, confirm'd the Faith of the *Real Presence*. Both the Scripture and ancient tradition supported him in this cause. He shew'd, that to turn the so simple, so precise words of our Saviour to a figurative sense, under pretext that there were figurative expressions in other places of Scripture, was to open a way whereby the whole Scripture and all the mysteries of our salvation would be turn'd to figures; that the

the same submission was therefore required here, *Serm. de corp. & sang. Christ. de fen. Verbi cœnæ: quod verba adhuc stent. T. viii. 277. 381.* with which we receive the other *mysteries*, without attending to human reasoning or the laws of nature, but to *Jesus Christ* and his words only; that our *Saviour* spoke not, in the *institution*, either of *Faith* or of the *Holy Spirit*; but said, *This is my Body*, and not that *Faith* would make you *partakers* of it; wherefore the eating, which *Jesus Christ* there spoke of, was not a *mystical* eating, but an eating by the *mouth*; that the union of *Faith* was consummated out of the *Sacrament*, nor could it be believed that *Jesus Christ* gave us nothing that was particular by such *emphatick words*; that it was well seen, his intention was to make sure to us his gifts by giving us his *person*; that the remembrance he recommended to us of his *death*, excluded not his *Presence*, but obliged us only to receive *this Body* and *this Blood* as a *victim* immolated for us; that this *victim* became ours indeed by this manducation; that in reality, *Faith* ought there to intervene in order to make it profitable; but to shew, that even without *Faith*, the *word* of *Jesus Christ* had its effect, there needed but to consider the *communion* of the unworthy. He urged here forcibly the words of *St. Paul*, when, after relating these words, *This is my body*, he condemn'd those so severely, *who discern'd not the body of the Lord, and who render'd themselves guilty of his body and blood*: he added, that *St. Paul* meant to speak throughout of the *true body*, and not of the *body in figure*; and that it was seen by his expressions that he condemn'd those impious ones of affronting *Jesus Christ*, not in his gifts, but immediately in his *person*. *Cat. maj. de sac. alt. Concord. p. 551 &c.*

But where he shew'd his greatest strength was in demolishing the objections, which were raised against these heavenly truths. He ask'd of those *John vi. 63.* who

1 Cor. xi.

24. 28.

29.

who objected to him, *flesh profiteth nothing*, with what assurance they durst say, that the *flesh* of *Jesus Christ* profiteth nothing, and apply to this life-giving flesh what *Jesus Christ* said of the *carnal sense*, or at most, of the *flesh* taken after the manner the *Capharnaïtes* understood it, or evil Christians received it, not uniting themselves thereto by *Faith*, nor receiving at the same time that *spirit* and that *life* with which it abounds? when they presumed to ask him; what therefore did this *flesh* avail taken by the mouth of the *body*? he again ask'd of these proud Opponents, what did the *Word's* taking flesh avail? could not truth have been denounced, nor mankind redeem'd, but by this means? are they acquainted with all *God's* secrets, to say unto him, he had no other way whereby to save man? and who are they, thus to set laws to their *Creator*, and perscribe him means to apply to them his *grace*? if at last, they opposed against him *human reasons*; how a body could be in so many places at once, a human body whole and entire in so little a space? he batter'd down all these engines levell'd against *God* by asking, how *God* preserved his *Unity* in the *Trinity* of Persons? how of nothing he created Heaven and Earth? how he made his Son be born of a *Virgin*? how he deliver'd him up to death? and how he was to raise up all the faithful on the last day? what did human reason pretend by opposing these vain difficulties against *God*, which he blasted with one breath? they say that all the miracles of *Jesus Christ* are sensible. But who has told them, that *Jesus Christ* did resolve never to work any other? when he was conceived by the Holy Ghost in the *Virgin's* womb, to whom was this, the greatest miracle of all, become sensible? could *Mary* have known

Serm. quod
verba
sunt.
Ibid.

known what it was she bore in her womb, had not the Angel denounced the divine secret to her? but when the Divinity dwelt corporally in Christ Jesus, who saw it, or who comprehended it? now who sees him at the right hand of his Father, from whence he exerts his almightiness over the whole universe? is this what obliges them to wrest, to break to pieces, to crucify the words of their Lord? I do not comprehend, say they, how he can execute them literally. They prove to me very well, by this reason, that human understanding tallies not with God's wisdom; I allow it; I agree with them; but I never knew before, that nothing was to be believed but what we discover in opening our eyes, or what human reason can comprehend.

Lastly, when it was said to him, this matter was not of consequence, or worth breaking the peace: *who then obliged Carlostadius to begin this quarrel? who forced Zuinglius and Oecolampadius to write? may that peace for ever be accursed, that is made to the prejudice of truth!* by such arguments he often stopt the mouths of the *Zuinglians*. It must be own'd, he had a great strength of genius: nothing but a guide was wanting to him, which can be had no where but in the *Church*, and under the yoke of *legitimate authority*. Had *Luther* continued subject to this yoke, so necessary to all kinds of spirits, but especially to the fiery and impetuous like his, he might have kept his writings clear of those transports, those buffooneries, that brutal arrogance, those excesses, or rather extravagances; and the force with which he treated some truths, would not have served to seduction. It is for this reason, we see him still invincible, when he sets forth the *ancient doctrines* he had learnt in the bosom of the *Church*; but pride closely pursued his

Ibid.

Ep. Luth.
ap. Hosp.
2. part. ad
An. 1534.
f. 132.

his victories. So much was this man taken with himself for having fought so strenuously for the proper and literal sense of our Saviour's words, that he could not refrain glorying in it: *The Papists themselves*, says he, *are forced to allow me the praise of having defended the doctrine of the literal sense much better than they. And, in reality, I am assured, were they all melted down into one Mass, they never would be able to maintain it with that strength that I do.*

XXXI.
The
Zuinglians
prove
against
Luther,
that the
Catholicks
understand
the literal
sense bet-
ter than
he.

Hosp. ad
An. 1527.
f. 49. &c.

He was mistaken: for altho' he fully proved, that the *literal sense* was to be maintain'd, he knew not how to take it in its whole simplicity; and the abettors of the *figurative sense* demonstrated to him, that, if the *literal sense* were to be followed, *Transubstantiation* would carry it. This is what *Zuinglius* and all the defenders of the *figurative sense*, in general, evinced most clearly. They observe, that *Jesus Christ* did not say, *My body is this*, or, *my body is under this*, and *with this*, or, *this contains my body*, but only, *This is my body*. So likewise what he was to give the faithful, was not a substance, which contains his Body, or which accompanies it, but *his body*, without any other *foreign substance*. Neither did he say, *This bread is my body*, which is another of *Luther's* explanations; but said, *This is my body*, by an indefinite term to shew that the substance he gives is no longer bread, but his body.

John xi.
9.

And when *Luther* explained, *This is my body*, that is, *This bread is my body really and without figure*; without thinking of it, he destroy'd his own doctrine. For we may very well say with the Church, that bread becomes the body, in the same sense that *St. John* hath said, *The water was made wine*, at the marriage-feast in *Cana of Galilee*, namely, by a change of one into

into the other. In the same manner may it be said, that what is bread in appearance, is in effect the *body* of our *Lord*; but, that true bread, remaining such, should be at the same time the body of our *Lord*, as *Luther* pretended, the defenders of the *figurative* sense proved to him, as did the *Catholicks*, that it was a reasoning void of sense, and concluded that he ought, either to admit a *moral* change only together with them, or a change of *substance* together with the *Papists*.

It is for this reason, that *Beza*, at the conference of *Montbeliard*, maintains against the *Lutherans*, that of the two explications which adhere to the *literal* sense; namely that of the *Catholicks*, and that of the *Lutherans*, 'tis that of the *Catholicks*, which departs least from the words of the institution of the *Lord's* Supper, were they to be expounded word for word. He proves it by this reason; because the *Transubstantiators* say, that by virtue of these divine words, that which before was bread, having changed its substance, becomes immediately the body itself of *Jesus Christ*, to the end that, by this means, this proposition may be true, This is my body. Whereas, the exposition of the *Consubstantiators* saying, that these words This is my body, do signify, my body is essentially in, with, or under this bread; declares not what is become of the bread, and what that is, which is the body, but only where it is.

This reason is plain and intelligible. For it's clear, that *Jesus Christ*, having taken bread in order to make it something, must have declared to us what kind of thing he did design to make it; 'tis not less evident, that the bread became that, which the *Almighty* did intend to make it. Now these words shew, he intended to make it his body, in what ever manner that be understood,

XXXII.

Beza
proves the
same
truth.

Confer. de
Mont. imp.
a Gen.
1587. p.
52.

stood, since he said, *this is my body*. If therefore this bread is not become his body *in figure*, it is become so *in effect*, and there is no way to avoid admitting the change *in figure*, or the change *in substance*.

Ibid. Thus, if the words of *Jesus Christ* be only attended to, the *Church's Doctrine* must be embraced; and *Beza* is in the right to say, that it has less difficulties, *as to the manner of speaking*, than that of the *Lutherans*, that is to say, it suits better with the *literal sense*.

Instit. lib.
4. c. 17.
n. 30. &c. Calvin frequently confirms the same truth, and not to dwell on the sense of particular people, a whole *Synod of Zuinglians* have acknowledged it.

XXXIII. 'Tis the *Synod of Czenger* a town in *Poland* publish'd in the collection of *Geneva*. This *Synod*, after having rejected *Papistical Transubstantiation*, shews that the *Lutheran Consubstantiation* is not to be defended, because, as *Moses's wand* was not a serpent but by *Transubstantiation*, and the water in *Egypt* was not blood, nor, at the marriage of *Cana*, wine, without a change: so the bread of the supper, cannot be the body of *Christ* substantially, if it be not changed into his flesh by losing the form and substance of bread.

A whole Synod of Zuinglians in Poland owns the same truth. Syn. Czeng. Tit. de Cæna. in Synt. Gen. part. 1.

'Twas good sense that dictated this decision. In fact, the bread remaining bread, can be no more the body of our Lord, than the wand remaining a wand, could be a serpent, or water remaining water, could be blood in *Egypt*, or wine at the marriage of *Cana*. If therefore, what was bread becomes the body of our Lord, either it becomes so *in figure* by a *mystical change*, according to *Zuinglius's doctrine*; or it becomes so, *in effect*, by a *real change*, as is said by *Catholicks*.

XXXIV. Thus *Luther*, who prided himself, that he alone had defended the *literal sense* better than all the

the *Catholic* Divines, was greatly out in his reckoning; in that he did not even comprehend the true ground which holds us to this sense, nor understand the nature of those *propositions* which operate what they express. *Jesus Christ* says to that man, *Thy son liveth*: *Jesus Christ* says to that woman, *Thou art loosed from thine infirmity*: in speaking, he does what he says; nature obeys; things are changed, and the sick person becomes sound. But words, which regard only things *accidental*, as health and sickness, operate only *accidental changes*. Here, where a *substance* is concern'd, for *Jesus Christ* said, *This is my Body*, *This is my Blood*, the change is *substantial*, and by an effect as real as it is surprising, the *substance* of the Bread and of the Wine is changed into the *substance* of the Body and the Blood. Consequently when we follow the *literal sense*, we must not believe only, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* is in the *mystery*, but also that it makes the whole *substance* of it; and this it is the words themselves lead us to, *Jesus Christ* not having said, *my Body is here*, or, *this contains my Body*; but, *this is my Body*; and he would not even say, *this Bread is my Body*, but *this indefinitely*. And in the same manner as if he had said, when he changed the *Water* into *Wine*, *that which you are going to drink is Wine*, it ought not to be understood, that he had preserved together both *Water* and *Wine*, but that he had chang'd the *Water* into *Wine*: so, when he declared, what he presents, is his *Body*, it ought in no wise to be understood, that he mixes his *Body* with the *Bread*, but that he effectually changes the *Bread* into his *Body*. 'Tis this, the *literal sense* leads us to, as the *Zuinglians* themselves acknowledge, and this it is which *Luther* could never understand.

For

not the
force of
these
words,
*This is my
body.*

John iv.
50. 51.
Luke xiii.
12.

XXXV.
The Sacramentarians proved to Luther that he admitted a kind of figurative sense.

Vid. Hosp.
2. part.
12. 35.
47. 61.
76. 161.
&c.

For want of understanding it, this great defender of the *literal* sense fell necessarily into a kind of *figurative* sense. According to him, *This is my Body*, imported this Bread contains my Body, or this Bread is join'd with my Body; and by this means, the *Zuinglians* forced him to acknowledge, in this expression, that grammatical figure, which puts that which containeth, for that which is contain'd, or the part for the whole. Then, they came upon him in this manner: if it be lawful for you to admit in the words of the *institution*, that *figure*, which puts the part for the whole, why will you hinder us from admitting that figure which puts the *thing* for the *sign*? *figure* for *figure*, the *Metonymy* which we acknowledge is worth full as much as the *Synecdoche* which you receive. These gentlemen were *Humanists* and *Grammarians*. All their books were soon fill'd with *Luther's Synecdoche* and *Zuinglius's Metonymy*: it was necessary for *Protestants* to engage on one side or other of these two figures of *Rhetorick*; and it appear'd manifest, that none but the *Catholicks*, equally distant from the one and the other, and admitting in the *Eucharist* neither bread nor bare sign, justly establish'd the *literal* sense.

XXXVI.
The difference betwixt invented doctrine, and doctrine received by tradition.

Here was perceived the difference betwixt doctrines newly introduced by particular authors, and those which come in their natural channel. The change of *substance* had of itself, spread over both the *East* and the *West*, entering into all minds together with the words of our *Lord*, without ever causing any disturbance; neither were those, who believed it, ever noted by the *Church* as *Innovators*. When it was contested, and men strove to wrest the *literal* sense, with which it had spread over the whole earth, not only the *Church* remained firm, but also her very adversaries were seen to combat

combat for her, whilst they combated against each other. *Luther* and his followers proved invincibly, that the *literal* sense ought to be retain'd: *Zuinglius* with his Party proved, with no less force, that it could not be retain'd without the change of *Substance*: thus, they agreed but in this only, to prove against each other, that the *Church*, which they had abandon'd, had more reason on her side than any of them: by I know not what force of truth, all those, who abandon'd it, retain'd Something of it, and the *Church* which kept the Whole, gain'd the victory.

Thence it clearly follows, that the interpretation of *Catholicks*, who admit the change of *Substance*, is the most *natural* and most *plain*; both because it's follow'd by the greatest number of *Christians*, and because of those two, who impugn it by different ways, one of them, which is *Luther*, took upon him to oppose it purely out of a spirit of contradiction and in spite to the *Church*; and the other, which is *Zuinglius*, agrees, that, if with *Luther* the *literal sense* is to be received, the change of *Substance*, with the *Catholicks*, must be received also.

Afterwards, the *Lutherans*, once engaged in error, confirm'd themselves therein with this argument, that 'tis destroying the *Sacrament*, to take from it, as we do, the *Substance* of Bread and Wine. I am obliged to own, I have not found this reason in any of *Luther's* writings; and indeed, it's too weak and too far fetch'd to occur immediately to the mind: for it's known, that a *Sacrament*, that is a sign, consists in that which appears, not in the interior or *Substance* of the thing. It was not necessary to shew *Pharaoh* seven real *kine* and seven ears of real *corn*, to notify to him the fertility or famine of seven years: the *image* that was form'd in his

XXXVII.
The Catholick sense is visibly the most natural.

XXXVIII
Question: whether the Sacrament be destroy'd in Transubstantiation.

Gen. xli.

mind sufficed to that intent. And if we must come to things wherewith the eyes have been affected; to the end that the *Dove* should represent to us the *Holy-Ghost*, and that chaste love with all its sweetness, which he inspires into holy souls, it was little necessary it should be a *real Dove*, which descended visibly on *Jesus Christ*; it was sufficient it had the whole exterior: in the same manner, to the end that the *Eucharist* might specify to us, that *Jesus Christ* was our bread and drink, 'twas sufficient that the characters and the ordinary effects of these aliments were preserved; in a word, 'twas enough, there was nothing changed with regard to the senses. In the signs of the *Institution*, that which denotes their force, is the intention declared by the words of the *Institutor*: now, by saying over the Bread, *This is my Body*, and over the Wine, *This is my Blood*, and they, by vertue of these divine words, seeming to the eyes actually invested with all the appearances of Bread and Wine, he shews clearly enough, that he is truly a nourishment, who has taken on him the resemblance of it, and, under that form, appears to us. If to the reality of the *Sacrament* true Bread and true Wine be necessary, 'tis likewise true Bread and true Wine that are consecrated, and which, by consecration, are made the true Body and true Blood of our *Redeemer*. The change, that is made in the interior, without any alteration of the exterior, makes also one part of the *Sacrament*, namely of the *sacred sign*; in as much as this change, become sensible by the words, makes us see, that by the words of *Jesus Christ* operating in a Christian, he ought to be most really, altho' in a different manner, changed inwardly, retaining only the exterior of other men.

Thereby

Thereby those passages are explain'd, wherein the *Eucharist* is call'd Bread even after consecration; and this difficulty is manifestly solved by the rule of *changes*, and the rule of *appearances*. By the rule of *changes*, Bread, become the Body, is call'd Bread, as in *Exodus*, the wand, become a serpent, is call'd wand, and the water, become blood, is call'd water. These expressions are made use of to shew at once, both the thing which was made, and the matter employ'd to make it of. By the rule of *appearances*: in the same manner that in the *old* and *new Testament*, *Angels* who appear under human shape are call'd at the same time *Angels*, because they are so, and *men*, because they appear such: so the *Eucharist* will both be call'd the *Body*, because it is so, and *Bread* because it so appears. If then, one of these two reasons suffices to preserve to it the name of *Bread* without prejudicing the *Change*, the concurrence of both will be much stronger. And no difficulty should be imagin'd of discerning truth amidst these different expressions: for when the *Holy Scripture* explains the same thing to us by divers expressions, to prevent all ambiguity, there is always a *principal place*, which the rest are to be reduced to, and where things are express'd such as they are in precise terms. What if these *Angels* be call'd *Men* in some places? there will be a place where it will clearly be seen that they are *Angels*. What if this *blood* and this *serpent* be call'd *water* and *wand*? you'll find the *principal place*, where this change will be specified, and 'tis by that the thing should be defined. What must be the *principal place* whereby we are to judge of the *Eucharist*, if it be not that of the *Institution*, where *Jesus Christ* made it to be what it is? so when we would name it with relation to what it was, and what it appears,

XXXIX.
How the names of bread and wine may remain in the *Eucharist*. Two rules drawn from Scripture.

Exod. vii.
12. 18.

we may call it *Bread and Wine*: but when we would name it with respect to what it is in itself, it will have no other name than that of *Body and Blood*; and 'tis thereby it ought to be defined, since it never can be any thing else but what it was made by the *all-powerful words*, which gave it being. Both of ye, as well *Lutherans* as *Zuinglians*, do contrary to nature explain the *principal* text by other places, and both of ye departing from the rule, do separate still to a greater distance from one another, than you do from the *Church* you chiefly aim'd to oppose. The *Church*, which follows the natural order, and reduces all the passages, where the *Eucharist* is spoken of, to that, which, beyond dispute, is of all others the *principal and foundation*, holds the true key of the *mystery*, and triumphs not only over both the one and the other, but also over the one by the other.

XL.
Luther
dismay'd
at these
disputes:
his dejection
deplor'd
by Melancthon.

Luth. ad
Jac.
Præp.
Brem.
Hosp. 82.
Luth. maj.
Conf.
Ibid. 56.
Zuing.
resp. ad
Luth.
Hosp. 44.

In effect, during these *Sacramentarian* contests, those who call'd themselves *Reform'd*, notwithstanding the common interest, which at times united them in appearance, waged a more cruel war against each other than against the *Church* itself, mutually calling one another *furies*, *mad-men*, *slaves of Satan*, *greater enemies* to the truth and the members of *Jesus Christ* than the *Pope* himself; which to them was saying every thing.

Mean while, the authority which *Luther* was desirous of maintaining in the new *Reformation*, which had risen up under his standard, grew contemptible. He was pierced with grief; and that haughtiness, which he shew'd outwardly, could not support him under that dejection of mind which he felt inwardly: on the contrary, the more haughty he was, the more insupportable it was to him to be despised by a party, he ambition'd to be the sole head of. The concern, he

felt,

felt, communicated itself even to *Melancthon*. *L. 4. Ep. 76. ad Camerar.*
Luther, says he, causes in me great troubles by the long complaints he makes to me of his afflictions. Writings, judged no wise contemptible, have quite dejected and disfigured him. Through the compassion I have for him, I find myself afflicted to the utmost extremity for the general calamities of the Church. The doubtful vulgar divide themselves into contrary sentiments; and had not *Jesus Christ* promised to be with us even to the consummation of ages, I should apprehend the utter destruction of Religion from these dissensions; for nothing is more true than that sentence which says, through much disputing truth slips from us.

Strange agitation of a man, who depended upon seeing the Church repaired, and now sees her ready to fall by the very means taken for her re-establishment! what comfort could he find in the promises made to us by *Jesus Christ*, of being always with us? It belongs to *Catholicks* to nourish themselves with this Faith; they, who believe the Church can never be overcome by error, how ever violent be the assault, and who, in fact, have ever found her to be invincible. But how can they lay hold of this promise in the new Reformation, whose first foundation was, when they broke off from the Church, that *Jesus Christ* had forsaken her so, as to let her fall even into Idolatry? besides, tho' it be true that truth remains always in the Church, and becomes so much the more purified the more violently it is attack'd, *Melancthon* had reason to think, by much disputing, particular men lost sight of it. There was no error so prodigious, which the heat of dispute did not drive *Luther's* passionate mind into. It made him embrace that monstrous opinion of Ubiquity. These are the arguments whereon he grounded this strange notion.

XLI.

Luther
 teaches
 Ubiquity.

M D

XXVII.

M D

XXVIII.

Serm. quod
verba
sent. T.
3. Jen.
Conf. maj.
T. 4. Jen.
Calix.
Jud. n.
40. & seq.

XLII.
Luther de-
clares a-
new that it
little im-
ports whe-
ther the
substance
of bread be
admitted
or taken
away : the
gross Divi-
nity of this
Doctor, at
which Me-
lancthon is
scanda-
liz'd.

L. iv. Ep.
76. 1528.

The humanity of our *Lord* is united to the *Divi-*
nity ; therefore the *humanity*, as well as that, is
every where. *Jesus Christ*, as man, is seated at
the right hand of *God* : the right hand of *God* is
every where ; therefore *Jesus Christ*, as man, is
every where. As man he was in Heaven before he
had ascended into it. He was in the monument when
the *Angels* said he was not there. The *Zuinglians*
exceeded by saying, that *God* had it not even in
his power to put the body of *Jesus Christ* in seve-
ral places. *Luther* runs into another extreme, and
maintains it is necessarily in every place. 'Tis
what he taught in a book we have already spoken
of, which he wrote in 1527, in order to defend
the *literal sense*, and what he ventur'd to insert in a
Confession of Faith, which he publish'd in 1528,
under the title of the *great Confession of Faith*.

He says in this last book, that 'tis of little im-
portance whether *Bread* be admitted in the *Eu-*
charist or no ; but that it was more reasonable to
acknowledge therein *A carnal bread and a bloody*
wine ; *panis carneus & vinum sanguineum*. This
was the language, whereby he express'd that *new*
union he placed between the Bread and the Body.
These words seem'd to aim at *Impanation*, and
often such fell from him, which had a further
tendency than he meant. But, at least, they
proposed a certain mixture of Bread and Flesh, or
Wine and Blood, which appear'd very gross, and
was insupportable to *Melancthon*. *I have spoken*
says he, to Luther, concerning this mixture of
the bread and the body, which appears a strang
paradox to many people. He answer'd me perempto-
rily, that he would alter nothing in it : and for my
part, I do not think it proper to meddle any more in
this affair. Which is as much as to say, he was
not of *Luther's* mind, yet dared not to contradict
him.

Mean while, the excess they ran into, on both sides of the new *Reformation*, discredited it with men of good sense. This dispute alone ruin'd the common foundation of each Party. They believed, they could finish all disputes by the *Scripture alone*, and would have no other Judge than that; and the whole world was witness, there was no end to their disputes on *Scripture*, even on one passage of it, than which none ought to be more clear, since it regarded a *last Will and Testament*. They cry'd out to one another; all is clear, and there needs no more than opening your eyes. By this evidence of *Scripture* *Luther* found out, that nothing was more *impious* and daring, than to deny the *literal sense*; and *Zuinglius* found nothing more *gross* and *absurd*, than the following of it. *Erasmus*, whom both were desirous of gaining, said the same to them that all *Catholicks* did: you all appeal to the *pure word of God* and believe your selves its true Interpreters. Agree then amongst your selves before you set laws to all mankind. Whatever face they put upon it, they were quite ashamed that they could not agree, and in the bottom of their hearts, all thought the same that *Calvin* wrote to his friend *Melancthon*. *It is of great importance, that the least suspicion of the divisions, which are among us, pass not to future ages: for 'tis ridiculous beyond every thing that can be imagined, after we have broken off from the whole world, we should so little agree amongst our selves ever since the beginning of our Reformation.*

XLIII.
The Sacramentarian dispute overthrow the foundations of the Reformation. *Calvin's* words.

L. xviii.
3. xix. 3.
113.
xxx. 59.
p. 2102.
&c.

Calv. Ep. ad Mel. p. 145.

Philip Landgrave of *Hesse*, exceeding zealous for the *new Gospel*, had foreseen this disorder; and from the first opening of the breach endeavour'd to make it up. As soon as he saw the party was strong enough, and moreover threatned by the *Emperor* and the *Catholicks*, he began to form

XLIV.
The Lutherans take up arms under the Landgrave's command,

who owns
he was in
the wrong.

M D
xxviii.
Sleid. l. vi.
92.
Mel. l. iv.
Ep. 70.

designs of a confederacy. The maxims laid down by *Luther* for the foundation of his *Reformation*, to seek no support from arms, were soon forgotten. They rose in arms under the pretext of an imaginary treaty, said to have been made between *George Duke of Saxony*, and the other *Catholick Princes*, to exterminate the *Lutherans*. The matter was indeed adjusted: the *Landgrave* was satisfied with the great sums of money, which some *Ecclesiastical Princes* were obliged to pay down, to indemnify him for his raising forces, which he himself acknowledged, he had done on false reports.

Melancthon, who did not approve of this conduct, found no other excuse for the *Landgrave*, but that he did not care to discover he had been deceived, and had nothing more to say in his defence, but that *an evil shame* had influenced him. But other thoughts gave him much more uneasiness. They had boasted amongst themselves, that the *Papacy* should be destroy'd without making war and shedding of blood. Before that this tumult of the *Landgrave's* happen'd, and a little after the *Peasants* revolt, *Melancthon* had written to the *Landgrave* himself, *That it was better to suffer every thing, than to take up arms in the Gospel-cause*. And now it fell out, that those, who had strove so much to convince the world of their pacifick principles, were the very first to run to arms, and that on a false report, as *Melancthon* himself acknowledges. Accordingly he adds: *When I see what a scandal the good cause is obnoxious to, I am almost overwhelm'd with this concern*.

Lib. iii.
Ep. 16.

L. iv. Ep.
70. 72.
Ibid. 72.

Mel. Ibid.
Sleid.
Ibid.
David.
Chyt. in
Sax. ad
An. 1528.
l. 312.

Luther was far from these sentiments. Tho' it was known for certain in *Germany*, and even *Protestant* authors are agreed therein, that *George of Saxony's* pretended treaty was a meer sham, *Luther* was bent on believing it true, and wrote several

several letters and libels, in which he is so transported against that *Prince*, even as to call him, *Of all fools, the greatest fool; a proud Moab, who always undertook what was above his strength,* adding, *that he would pray to God against him.* Then, *that he would give notice to the Princes to EXTERMINATE SUCH PEOPLE, who had a mind to see all Germany in blood:* that is to say; lest they should see it, the *Lutherans* themselves were to put it in that sad condition, and begin by exterminating such *Princes* as opposed their designs.

This *George Duke of Saxony*, so ill-treated by *Luther*, was as opposite to the *Lutherans* as his kinsman the *Electors* was favourable to them. *Luther* prophecy'd against him with all his might, not heeding that he was of the same family with his Lord and Master; and it is plain 'twas not his fault that his prophecies were not fulfill'd by dint of sword.

This armament of the *Lutherans*, which in 1528, made all *Germany* tremble, had raised their pride to that degree, that they judged themselves in a condition to protest openly against the decree publish'd against them the year following in the *Diet of Spire*, and to appeal from it to the *Emperor*, to the future general *Council*, or to that which should be held in *Germany*. It was on this occasion they re-united themselves under the name of *Protestants*: but the *Landgrave*, who had more forecast, a better capacity, and more valour than any of them, perceived that the diversity of sentiments would be an everlasting obstacle to that perfect union, he was minded to settle amongst them. Wherefore the same year, that the *Decree* pass'd at *Spire*, he procured the conference of *Marburg*, where he caused all the Heads of the new *Reformation* to meet, namely, *Luther*, *Osiander* and *Melancthon* on one side: *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*,

Luth. Ep. ad Vences. Lync. T. vii. & ap. Chyt. in Sax. p. 312. & 982.

XLV.
The name of Protestants. The conference of *Marburg* where the *Landgrave* strives in vain to reconcile both parties of Protestants.
MDXXIX.
Sleid. l. 6. 94. 97. Sleid. ibid.

L. 4. Ep.
38.

Hosp. ad
An. 1529.
de coll.
Marp.

Mel. Ep.
ad Elect.
Sax. & ad
Hen. Duc.
Sax. ibid.
& ap.
Luth. T.
4. Jen.

Ibid.

lampadius, and *Bucer* on the other, not to reckon those of less note. *Luther* and *Zuinglius* were the only speakers; for the *Lutherans*, long before this, held their peace where *Luther* was present; and *Melancthon* owns frankly he and his companions were but *mute figures*. They thought not then of amusing one another with *equivocal explanations*, as they did afterwards. The true *presence* of the Body and Blood was plainly asserted on one side, and denied on the other. On both sides it was understood, that a *presence in figure*, and a *presence by Faith* was not a true *presence* of *Jesus Christ*, but a *moral presence*, a *presence* improperly so call'd and in metaphor. They agreed in appearance on all articles, excepting that of the *Eucharist*. I say, in appearance, for it's clear from two letters, which during this conference *Melancthon* wrote to his Princes to give them an account of it, that at the bottom they very little understood each others meaning. *We discover'd*, says he, *that our adversaries understood very little of Luther's doctrine, altho' they endeavour'd to imitate his language*; that is, they agreed, thro' complaisance and in words, tho' in effect they understood not each other: and the truth is, *Zuinglius* had never comprehended any thing of *Luther's doctrine on the Sacraments*, nor of his *imputed justice*. Those of *Strasburg*, with *Bucer* their Minister, were also accused of not having good sentiments, that is, as they meant it, not *Lutheran* enough on this head, and so it appear'd afterwards, as we shall soon perceive. The truth of the thing is, *Zuinglius* and his companions were a little in pain about those matters, and spoke whatever might please *Luther*, having nothing in their head but the question of the *Real Presence*. As to the manner of treating subjects, *Luther*, according to his custom, spoke with haughtiness.

haughtiness. *Zuinglius* shew'd much ignorance, so far as to ask several times, *How wicked Hosp. ibid.* *Priests could perform a sacred thing?* but *Luther* took him up roundly, and made him see, from the example of *Baptism*, that he knew not what he said. When *Zuinglius* and his companions saw they could not prevail on *Luther* to admit their *figurative sense*, they besought him to vouchsafe at least, to hold them for brethren, but were sharply repulsed. *What fraternity do you ask of me,* reply'd *Luther*; *if you persist in your belief? 'tis a sign you doubt of it, since you desire to be their brethren who reject it.* Thus ended the conference. Nevertheless, they promised mutual charity. *Luther* interpreted this charity such as we owe to enemies, and not such as is allow'd to those of the same communion. *They fumed,* said he, *to see themselves treated like Hereticks.* They agreed however to write no more against each other, *But it was only to give them time,* continued *Luther*, *to come to themselves.*

*Luth. Ep.
ad Jac.
Præp.
Bremens.
ibid.*

This agreement, such as it was, had but little continuation: quite the contrary, by the different accounts that were given of this conference, their minds were more exasperated than before. The proposal of fraternity, made by the *Zuinglians*, was look'd upon by *Luther* as a device, and he said, *That Satan so reigned in them, that they had it no longer in their power to advance any* *Ibid.* *thing but Lyes.*



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK III.

From the Year 1529, to 1530.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The Confessions of Faith of both Protestant parties, That of Ausburg composed by Melancthon. That of Strasburg, or of the four Towns, by Bucer. That of Zuinglius. Variations in that of Ausburg concerning the Eucharist. The ambiguity of that of Strasburg. Zuinglius alone plainly asserts the figurative sense. The term Substance, why apply'd to explain the Reality. The Apology of the Ausburg-Confession penn'd by Melancthon. The Church calumniated in almost every point, chiefly in that of Justification, Operation of the Sacraments and Mass. The merit of good-works own'd on both sides; likewise sacramental Absolution, Confession, Monastick Vows, with many other articles. The Church of Rome many ways acknowledged in the Confession of Ausburg. A demonstration from the Ausburg-Confession and Apology,
that

that the Lutherans would return to us, did they but lay aside their calumnies and well comprehend their own doctrine.



IN the midst of all these differences, preparations were making for the famous Diet of *Ausburg*, which *Charles V.* had call'd, in order to pacify the troubles, which this new Gospel had raised in *Germany*. He came to *Ausburg* the 15 June 1530. This Epoch is remarkable; for then it was, for the first time, that the *Confessions of Faith*, publish'd under the name of each party, appear'd in form. The *Lutherans*, defenders of the *literal sense*, presented to *Charles V.* the *Confession of Faith* call'd the *Confession of Ausburg*. The four Towns of the *Empire*, *Strasburg*, *Memmingen*, *Lindaw*, and *Constance*, which defended the *figurative sense*, gave in theirs separately to the same Prince. This was call'd the *Confession of Strasburg*, or of the four Towns; and *Zuinglius* who was not inclined to be silent on so solemn an occasion, altho' he was not of the Body of the *Empire*, yet he also sent to the *Emperor* his *Confession of Faith*.

Melancthon, the most eloquent, the most polite and withal the most moderate of all *Luther's* Disciples, drew up the *Ausburg-Confession* in concert with his Master, whom they had prevail'd on to approach near the place of the Diet. This *Confession* was presented to the *Emperor* in Latin and High-Dutch the 25 June 1530, subscrib'd by *John Elector of Saxony*, by six other Princes, of whom one of the chief was *Philip Landgrave of Hesse*, and by the Towns of *Nuremberg*, and *Reutlingen*, to which four other Towns associated themselves. It was read publickly in the Diet in presence of the *Emperor*; and agreed, that no

copy

I.
The famous Diet of *Ausburg*, where the *Confessions of Faith* are presented to *Charles V.*

M D XXX.

II.
The *Confession of Ausburg* digested by *Melancthon* and presented to the *Emperor*.

Chyt. Hist. Confess. Aug. &c.

copy of it should be spread abroad, neither printed nor written, but by his orders. Many editions of it have been since made as well in the *German* as the *Latin* language, all notably differing, and yet was it received by the whole party.

III.
Of the
Confession
of Stras-
burg, or
the four
Towns,
and of Bu-
cer who
form'd it.

Those of *Strasburg* with their associate defenders of the *figurative sense* offer'd to subscribe it, excepting only the article of the *Lord's Supper*. They were not admitted on those terms; so they compiled their own particular *Confession*, which was drawn into form by *Bucer*.

Chyt. Hist.
Confess.
Augus.

He was a man of sufficient learning, of a pliant mind, and more fruitful in distinctions than the most refined Scholasticks; an agreeable Preacher; his stile something heavy: but the advantage of his stature and found of his voice gain'd upon his hearers. He had been a *Dominican*, and was married like the rest, and even, as I may say, more than the rest; for upon the death of his first wife, he proceeded to a second, and so to a third marriage. The *Holy Fathers* received not to Priesthood any person who, whilst a layman, had been twice married. *Bucer*, both a Priest and Religious-man, during his new ministry marries thrice without scruple. This was a recommendation for him to the party, who by these daring examples loved to confound the superstitious observances of the *ancient Church*.

It does not appear, that *Bucer* had concerted any thing with *Zuinglius*, who with the *Swiss* spoke sincerely; *Bucer's* thoughts were wholly bent on compounding matters, and never was man so fertile in equivocations.

Yet neither he nor his party could at that time unite themselves with the *Lutherans*; and the new *Reformation* made two bodies visibly separate by two different *Confessions of Faith*.

After

After they had drawn them up, these *Churches* seem'd to have taken their last form; and it was high time, at least at that juncture, to hold themselves steady: but quite otherwise, here it was they betray'd most their Variations.

The *Ausburg-Confession* is of all the most considerable in every respect. Besides that it was first presented and subscribed by a greater body, and received with most ceremony, it hath also this advantage, that it was look'd upon afterwards, not only by *Bucer*, and in particular by *Calvin* himself, as a peice common to the new *Reformation*, but also by the whole party of the *figurative sense* in body assembled, as the sequel will make appear. The *Emperor* having caused it to be refuted by some *Catholick Divines*, *Melancthon* made its *Apology* which he enlarged upon a while after. This *Apology*, nevertheless, must not be regarded as a particular work, since it was presented to the *Emperor* in the name of the whole party, by the same people, who presented to him the *Confession of Ausburg*: the *Lutherans* have held no assembly since that time to declare their belief, wherein the *Confession of Ausburg* and *Apology* were not put by them on equal footing of authority; as appears from the acts of the assembly of *Smalkald* in 1537, and from others.

VI.
Of the
Confession
of *Aus-*
burg, and
its *Apolo-*
gy: the
authority
of these
two pieces
throughout
the whole
party.

Præf.
Apol. in l.
Conc. p.
48.
Art. Smal.
ibid. 356.
Epit. Art.
ib. 571.
Sol. rep.
ib. 633.
728. &c.

It is certain, the intention of the *Confession of Ausburg* was to establish the *Real Presence* of the Body and Blood; and, as the *Lutherans* say in the *Book of Concord*, it was there expressly design'd to reject the error of the *Sacramentarians*, who at the same time presented their own particular *Confession* at *Ausburg*. But the *Lutherans* were so far from speaking in an uniform way on this matter, that on the contrary, we behold at first sight the tenth article of their *Confession*, which is that wherein they design to establish the *Reality*: we behold,

V.
The tenth
article of
the *Con-*
fession of
Ausburg,
which re-
lates to the
Lord's
Supper,
expressed
four diffe-
rent ways.

The variation of the two first.

Concord.
p. 728.

Confess.
Aug. Art.
X. Syn-
tugm. G.
2 part. p.
13.

behold, I say, this tenth article couch'd in four different forms, being scarce able to discern, which is the most authentick, since they all appear'd in editions, which had the marks of publick authority.

Of these four ways, we see two in the *Geneva collection*, where the *Confession of Ausburg* is delivered to us as it was printed in 1540, at *Wittemberg* the birth place of *Lutheranism*, in the presence of *Luther* and *Melancthon*. We there read the article of the last Supper two different ways. In the first, which is that of the *Wittemberg*-edition, it is said, that *With the Bread and Wine, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly given to those, who partake of the Supper*. The second speaks not of Bread and Wine, and is express'd in these terms; *They believe (the Protestant Churches) that the Body and Blood are truly distributed to those who eat, and disapprove of those who teach the contrary*.

Here is a Variation at the first step of sufficient importance, since the last of these expressions agrees with the doctrine of the *change of substance*, and the other seems calculated to oppose it. The *Lutherans*, however stopped not there; and altho' of the two ways of expressing the tenth article, which appear in the *Geneva-collection*, they have followed the last in their *Book of Concord* at the place where the *Ausburg-Confession* is there inserted: nevertheless, this same tenth article is seen two other ways express'd in the same book.

Confess.
Aug. Art.
X. in lib.
Conc. p.
13.

VI.

Two other ways, in which the same article is couch'd, and their differences.

And truly, The Apology of the *Ausburg-Confession* will be found in this book, where the same *Melancthon*, who had drawn it up and defends it, transcribes the article in these terms: *In the Lord's-Supper the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly and substantially present, and are truly given together with the things that are seen,*
that

that is, with the Bread and Wine, to those who receive the Sacrament.

Infine, we also find these words in the same Book of Concord: The article of the Supper is thus taught from the word of God in the Ausburg-Confession: That the true Body and the true Blood of Jesus Christ are truly present, distributed and received in the holy Supper under the species of Bread and Wine; and those are disapproved of who teach the contrary. And 'tis in this manner likewise, that the tenth article is deliver'd in the French version of the Confession of Ausburg, printed at Francfort in 1673.

If these two manners of expressing the Reality be now compared, there is no body who does not see, that this of the *Apology* expresses it in stronger words than did the two precedent ones from the *Collection* of Geneva: but withal departs farther off from *Transubstantiation*; and that the last, contrarywise, accommodates itself so to the expressions, which the *Church* makes use of, that *Catholicks* might subscribe it.

If it be ask'd, which of these four different ways is the original presented to Charles V. the thing admits of no small doubt.

Hospinian maintains the last to be the original, because 'tis that, which appears in the impression, which was made in the year 1530 at *Wittemberg*, that is, in the seat of *Lutheranism*, the abode of *Luther* and *Melancthon*.

He adds the cause why this article was changed, because it too openly favour'd *Transubstantiation*, signifying the Body and Blood to be truly received not with the Substance, but under the species of Bread and Wine, which is the very expression made use of by *Catholicks*.

And this is the very thing, which enforces the belief, that the article was thus express'd at

Apolog.
Confess.
Aug. Conc.
p. 157.
Solid. repetit. de
Cæn. Dom.
n. vii. *Con.*
p. 728.

VII.
Which of these two ways is the original one.
Hosp. part.
2. f. 94.
132. 173.
Ibid.

Sleid. Apolog. Confess. Aug.
first,

guft. ad
Art. X.
Cbytr.
Hift.
Confefs.
Aug.
Celest.
Hift. Conf.
Aug. T. 3.

Praf.
Conc.

first, since it is certain from *Sleidan* and *Melancthon*, as well as from *Celestin* and *Cbytræus* in their history of the Confession of *Ausburg*, that the *Catholicks* contradicted not this article in the refutation of the *Ausburg Confession*, which they then made by order from the *Emperor*.

Of these four manners, the second was that, which was inserted in the *Book of Concord*; and it might seem that this was the most authentick, because the *Princes* and *States* who subscribed this book, seem to affirm, in the *Preface*, that they transcribed the *Ausburg-Confession*, as it still is to be found in the Archives of their *Predecessors* and in those of the *Empire*. But, upon closer examination, this will be found inconclusive, since the authors of this *Preface* only say, that having compared their copies with the *Archives*, *They found that theirs was wholly and throughout of the same sense with the Latin and German originals*: which shews the pretension of agreeing, in the main, with the other editions, but not the positive fact, *viz.* that the words are throughout the same; otherwise, such different ones would not be found in another part of the same book, as we observed before.

VIII.
The fifth
manner
wherein
this same
tenth arti-
cle is ex-
press'd in
the Apo-
logy of the
Confession
of *Aus-
burg*.

Be that as it will, as the *Confession of Ausburg* could be presented to the *Emperor* but in one way, 'tis strange, there should appear three so different from that, and altogether as authentick, as is now seen, and that so solemn an act should be so often alter'd by its authors in so essential an article.

They stopp'd not in so fine a way, but immediately after the *Confession of Ausburg*, they gave to the *Emperor* a fifth explication of the Supper-article in the *Apology* for their *Confession of Faith* drawn up, at their order, by *Melancthon*.

Melancthon

Melancthon being careful to express in formal terms the *literal sense* in this *Apology*, approved, as has been seen, by the whole party, was not content to have already acknowledged a *true and substantial Presence*, but he moreover made use of the word *corporal Presence*, adding that *Christ was corporally given to us*, and that this was *the ancient and common sentiment*, not only of the *Church of Rome*, but also of the *Greek Church*.

*Apolog.
Confess.
Aug. in
Art. X. p.
157.*

And altho' this author but little favours the *change of Substance* even in this book, yet his dislike to it is not so great, but that he makes honourable mention of the authorities which establish it: for in order to prove his doctrine of the *corporal Presence* from the sentiment of the *Eastern Church*, he cites the *Canon of the Greek Mass*, where the Priest *begs expressly*, says he, *that the proper Body of Jesus Christ be made in the change of Bread, or by the change of Bread*. Far from condemning any thing in this prayer, he makes use of it as a record whose authority he owns, and with the same judgment produces the words of *Theophylact Archbishop of Bulgaria*, who *affirms that the Bread is not a figure only, but is truly changed into Flesh*. It so happens that of three authorities, which he alledges to confirm the doctrine of the *Real Presence*, two there are which assert the *change of Substance*; so necessarily do these two truths follow each other, so natural a connexion is there between them.

IX.
The manner, in which the Reality is explained by the *Apology*, tends at the same time to the establishing the change of substance.

Ibid.

When these two passages, which appear'd at the first publication, were afterwards castrated in some editions by the enemies of *Transubstantiation*, 'twas by reason they were displeased they could not establish the *Reality*, which they approved, without admitting *Transubstantiation* at the same time, which they were bent upon denying.

X.
The *Lutherans*
evasion
with ref-
pect to
these *Variations*.

Such were the uncertainties the *Lutherans* fell into from the first setting out; as soon as ever they undertook to give to their *Church* a settled form, by a *Confession of Faith*, they were so irresolute, that they immediately put out an article of such importance as that of the *Eucharist*, in five or six different fashions. They were not more constant, as shall be seen, in the other, articles; and what they commonly answer, that the *Council of Constantinople* added also to that of *Nice*, avails them nothing: for the truth is, a new *Herefy* rising up after the *Council of Nice*, which denied the *Divinity* of the *Holy Ghost*, it was necessary to add some words for its condemnation: but in our present case, where nothing new occurred, 'twas nothing but irresolution which introduced, amongst the *Lutherans*, the *Variations* we have seen. They stuck not there, and we shall see many more in the *Confessions of Faith* they were afterwards necessitated to add to that of *Ausburg*.

XI.
The *Sacramentarians* are
not more
steady in
explaining
their faith.

If the defenders of the *figurative sense* reply, that their party fell not into the like inconsistencies; let them not flatter themselves with this persuasion. In the *Diet of Ausburg*, where the *Confessions of Faith* begin, it has been made appear, that the *Sacramentarians* at first produced two different ones; and we shall soon see the diversity of them. In process of time they were not less fruitful in different *Confessions of Faith* than the *Lutherans*, and have appear'd no less perplex'd, no less uncertain in the defence of the *figurative*, than the rest in that of the *literal sense*.

'Tis what one may reasonably wonder at; for it seems, that a doctrine so easy to be understood, according to human reason, as is that of the *Sacramentarians*, should afford no perplexity to those, who undertook to propound it. But it

was

was by reason, that the words of *Jesus Christ* naturally make such an impression of *Reality* on the mind, that all the refined subtilties of the *figurative* sense, were not able to destroy it. As therefore the greatest part of those, who opposed it, could not rid themselves of this intirely, and on the other hand, were desirous to please the *Lutherans*, who retain'd it; we must not wonder that with their *figurative* interpretations, they mix'd so many expressions, which favour of *Reality*; nor that, having left the true Idea of the *Real Presence* taught them by the *Church*, they were so much put to it to please themselves with the terms they had chosen, in order to retain some image of it.

This was the cause, which introduced those equivocations, we shall see, into their *Catechisms* and *Confessions* of *Faith*. *Bucer* the great Architect of all these subtilties gave a little specimen thereof in the *Strasburg-Confession*; for though unwilling to make use of those terms the *Lutherans* did to explain the *Real Presence*, he affects to say nothing that might be expressly contrary thereto, and expresses himself in words ambiguous enough to bear that sense. Thus he speaks, or rather makes those of *Strasburg* and the rest to speak. *When Christians repeat the Supper, which Jesus Christ made before his death, in that manner he instituted it, by the Sacraments he gives to them his true Body and true Blood to eat and drink truly, to be the food and drink of Souls.*

XII.

The indefinite and ambiguous terms of the Confession of *Strasburg* on the article of the Lord's Supper.

Conf. Ar. gent. c. 18. de Cæna. Synt. Gen. part. 1. p. 195.

In reality, they say not with the *Lutherans*, That this Body and this Blood are truly given with the Bread and Wine; and yet less, that they are truly and substantially given: *Bucer*, as yet, was not come so far; but he says nothing contrary to it, and nothing, in a word, that a *Lutheran*

theran, and even a *Catholick*, might not agree to, we all consenting in this, that *The true Body and true Blood of our Lord are given us to eat and drink truly*, not for the food of bodies, but, as *Bucer* said, *for the food of Souls*. So this *Confession* kept itself within general expressions; and even when it says, *We truly eat and drink the true Body and true Blood of our Lord*, it seems to exclude eating and drinking by Faith; which indeed is no more than a metaphorical eating and drinking, so much were they afraid of owning, that the Body and Blood are only spiritually given, and of inserting into a *Confession of Faith* what to *Christians* was so great a novelty. For altho' the *Eucharist*, as well as the other mysteries of our Salvation, had a spiritual effect for its end, it had, like other mysteries, that, which was accomplish'd in the body, for its foundation. *Jesus Christ* was to be born, to die, to be spiritually risen again in the faithful: yet he was also to be born, to die and rise again indeed, and according to the flesh. In the same manner, we were to partake spiritually of his sacrifice; yet also we were corporally to receive the flesh of this Victim, and to eat of it indeed. We were spiritually to be united with the heavenly Spouse; yet his Body, which he gave us in the *Eucharist*, in order to a mutual possession of ours, was to be the pledge and seal, as well as the foundation of this spiritual union; and this divine marriage, as well as ordinary ones, tho' in a far different way, was to unite minds by uniting bodies. To speak therefore of the spiritual union was, indeed, to explain the last end of this mystery; but to that intent, the corporal union whereon the other was grounded, ought not to have been forgotten. At least, since 'twas that which separated the *Churches*, they ought, in a *Confession of Faith*,

Faith, to have spoken distinctly for or against it; which *Bucer* could not resolve upon.

He was sensible he should be reprov'd for his silence, and to obviate the objection, after having said in general, *That we truly eat and drink the true Body and true Blood of our Lord for the food of our souls*, he makes those of *Strasburg* say, *That keeping themselves at a distance from all dispute, and all curious and superfluous inquiry, they call back the mind to that only thing which profits, and which by our Saviour was alone regarded; namely, that feeding on him, we may live in him, and by him: as if explaining the principal end proposed by our Saviour were sufficient, without speaking one way or the other of the Real Presence, which the Lutherans as well as Catholics granted to be the means.*

Having declared these things, they conclude, *That they are slander'd, when accused of changing the words of Jesus Christ, and mangling them by human interpretations, or of administering nothing in their Supper but meer Bread and Wine, or of despising the Lord's-Supper: for on the contrary, say they, we exhort the faithful to give ear to the words of our Lord with a simple Faith, by rejecting all false comments and all human inventions, by binding themselves close to the sense of the words, without hesitating in any kind; finally, by receiving the Sacraments for the food of their souls.*

Who condemns not, with them, superfluous curiosities, human inventions, false comments on the words of our Lord? what *Christian* makes not profession of binding himself close to the true sense of these divine words? but, whereas this sense had been disputed on for six whole years, and so many conferences been held to agree about it; they ought to have determin'd what it was, and what were those false glosses, which were to

XIII.

The process of these same ambiguities, and the remarkable effect they had on those Towns that subscribed them.
Ibid.

be rejected. For what does it signify to condemn that in general and by indefinite terms, which is rejected by all parties? and who sees not, that a *Confession of Faith* requires more clear and more precise decisions? certainly, were we to judge of *Bucer's* sentiments and those of his brethren, by this *Confession of Faith* only, and knew not otherwise that they were not favourable to the *Real and substantial Presence*; we might believe they were not at least far from it; they have words to flatter those who believe it; others to escape by, should they be press'd; infine, we may say without doing them an injury, that, whereas *Confessions of Faith* are commonly made to propose our thoughts on disputes which disturb the *Church's* peace, these on the contrary, by a great compass of words and long-winded discourses, found out the secret to say nothing distinctly on the subject then in hand.

Thence an odd effect ensued: namely, that of the four Towns, which had united themselves by this common *Confession of Faith*, and had all embraced, at that time, sentiments contrary to the *Lutherans*, three, to wit *Strasburg*, *Memmingen* and *Lindaw*, without scruple, a little after went over to the doctrine of the *Real Presence*: so well had *Bucer* succeeded in rendering their minds pliant with his ambiguous discourses, that they could easily turn to any side.

XIV.
Zuingli-
us's Con-
fession of
Faith ex-
ceeding
clear and
free from
equivoca-
on.

Confess.

Zuing.int.
oper.

Zuinglius dealt more frankly. In the *Confession of Faith*, which he sent to *Ausburg*, and which was approved by all the *Switzers*; he declared plainly, *That the Body of Jesus Christ, after his Ascension, was no where else but in Heaven, nay, could be no where else; that truly, in the Supper, it was, as it were, present by the contemplation of Faith, and not really or by its essence.*

To defend this doctrine, he wrote a letter to the *Emperor* and the *Protestant Princes*, where he

he sets this difference betwixt him and his adversaries; that these would have *A natural and substantial Body*, and he *a sacramental Body*. Zuing. & apud Hosp. ad An. 1530.

He keeps always to the same language; and in another *Confession of Faith*, which at the same time he directs to Francis I. he explains, This is my Body, of a *symbolical, mystical, and sacramental body*; of a body by denomination and signification; in the same manner, says he, as a Queen shewing amongst her jewels her nuptial ring, says readily, *this is my King*, to wit, *this is the ring of the King my Husband*, wherewith he hath espoused me. I know no Queen that ever used such an uncouth expression: but it was not easy for Zuinglius to find, in ordinary language, such ways of speaking as he would ascribe to our Saviour. Nay, he acknowledges no more in the *Eucharist*, than a *Moral Presence*, which he calls *sacramental and spiritual*. He always places the force of the Sacraments in this, *that they assist the contemplation of Faith, that they serve for a bridle to the senses, and make them concur better with the thoughts*. As to the manducation, which the Jews understood in the same sense with the Papists according to him, it ought to cause the like horror a father would be in, who had his son given him to eat. In general, *Faith has a horror of a visible and corporeal presence*; which makes St. Peter say, *DEPART FROM ME O LORD. Jesus Christ must not be eaten in this carnal and gross way: a faithful and religious soul eats his true body sacramentally and spiritually*. Sacramentally, that is to say, in sign, spiritually, that is, by the contemplation of Faith, which represents to us *Jesus Christ* suffering, and shews he is wholly ours. 101. & seq. Ep. ad Cæs. & Princ. Prot. Ibid. Confess. ad Franc. I.

'Tis not our business here to complain, that he calls our manducation gross and carnal, tho' so much XV. The state of the

question
appears
clearly in
Zuingli-
us's Con-
fession.

much elevated above the senses; nor that he would raise a horror of it, as of a cruel and bloody object. These are the usual reproaches those of his party have ever made us and the *Lutherans*. We shall see, by what follows, how those who now reproach, will justify us: 'tis enough we here observe, that *Zuinglius* speaks plainly. From these two *Confessions of Faith* is understood, wherein the difficulty precisely consists; on one side, a presence in Sign and by Faith; on the other, a real and substantial Presence: and this it is which separated the *Sacramentarians* from *Catholicks* and *Lutherans*.

XVI.

What reason there was to make use of the word Substance in the Eucharist: that 'tis the same, which obliged to employ it in the Trinity.

'Twill be now easy to comprehend what was the reason why the defenders of the *literal sense*, both *Catholicks* and *Lutherans*, used so much the words, *True Body*, *Real Body*, *Substance*, *Proper Substance*, and others of the like nature.

They made use of the word *Real and True*, to signify, that the *Eucharist* was not a meer Sign of the Body and Blood, but the very thing itself.

For this reason also they employ'd the word *Substance*; and if we trace it up to its origin, we shall find, that what introduced this word into the *mystery* of the *Trinity*, render'd it likewise necessary in the *mystery* of the *Eucharist*.

Before the subtilties of Hereticks had confounded the true sense of these our *Saviour's* words, *I and my Father are one*, the perfect *Unity* of the *Father* and *Son* was believed to be sufficiently express'd by this text of *Scripture*, without the necessity of always saying, they were one in *substance*: but ever since the time that Hereticks would persuade the faithful, this *Unity* of the *Father* and *Son* was only an *Unity* of concord, of thought, of affection, it was judged fitting to banish these pernicious equivocal terms by establishing *Consubstantiality*, namely, the *unity of Substance*.

This

John x.
30.

This term, which was not in *Scripture*, was judged necessary to the right understanding of it, and keeping at a distance the dangerous interpretations of those, who adulterated the simplicity of *God's* word.

By adding these expressions to *Scripture*, 'twas not pretended, it explain'd itself, in respect of that mystery, in an obscure and ambiguous manner: but 'twas by reason of the necessity there was of opposing, by express words, the evil interpretations of Hereticks, and of preserving that natural and primitive *Scripture-sense*, which would immediately have made impression on the mind, were not the ideas confus'd by prevention or false subtilties.

It's easy to apply this to the subject of the *Eucharist*. Had the natural and just sense, without refining, been preserved of these words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*; we should have thought, we had sufficiently explain'd a *Real Presence* of *Jesus Christ* in the *Eucharist*, by saying, that what he there gives, is his Body and Blood: but since it had been said, that *Jesus Christ* was there present in *figure* only, or by his *Spirit*, or by his *Virtue*, or by *Faith*; then to take away all ambiguity, it was believed necessary to say, that the Body of our Lord was given to us in its *proper* and *true Substance*, or what comes to the same, that he was really and substantially present.

'Tis this which gave rise to the term *Transubstantiation*, full as natural to express a change of *Substance*, as that of *Consubstantial* was to express a unity of Substance.

For the same reason the *Lutherans*, who acknowledge the Reality without change of *Substance*, upon rejecting the term *Transubstantiation*, retain'd that of *true and substantial Presence*,

XVII.
The *Lutherans*
had the
same rea-
as for we

had, to
make use
of the
word Sub-
stance:
Zuinglius
never used
it, nor *Bu-
cer* at the
beginning.

*Ep. ad
Cæs. &
Princ.
Prot.*

as we have seen in the *Apology* for the *Ausburg-Confession*; and these terms were chosen to fix the natural sense on these words, *This is my Body*, as the word *Consubstantial* was chosen by the *Fathers* of *Nice* to fix the literal sense on these words, *I and my Father are one*; and these other, *The Word was God*.

Accordingly, we do not find that *Zuinglius*, who first brought into form the opinion of the *figurative sense*, and explain'd it in the frankest manner, ever employ'd the word *Substance*. On the contrary, he perpetually excluded the *man-
dication*, as well as the substantial *Presence*, to the end, he might leave nothing but a *figurative* manducation, that is, *In Spirit and by Faith*.

Bucer, altho' more inclined to ambiguous expressions, did not, at the beginning, make use of the word *Substance*, or *Communion* and *substantial Presence*: but was content not to condemn these terms: and confin'd himself only to the general expressions, which we have seen.

XVIII.
Of the
doctrine of
Justificati-
on: that
there is no
difficulty
in it after
what has
been said
thereon in
the Con-
fession of
Ausburg
and its A-
pology.

*Ad art.
iv. de Jus.
p. 60 de
pæn. p.
161.*

Such was the first state of the *Sacramentarian* controversy, into which *Bucer's* subtilties introduced afterwards such a number of unseasonable *Variations*, as in the sequel we shall be obliged to relate. For the present, it suffices to have pointed at the cause.

The question of *Justification*, wherein that of *Free-will* was contain'd, seem'd to *Protestants* of a far different importance: for which reason they twice demand of the *Emperor*, in the *Apology*, a particular attention to this subject, as being the most important of the whole *Gospel*, and accordingly, by them the most labour'd. But I hope it will be soon discover'd, they have labour'd in vain, to say nothing more, and that, in this dispute, there is much more of wrong-understanding, than real difficulty.

And

And at first setting out, we must remove from this dispute the question of *Free-will*. *Luther* was come back from that excess, which made him say, that *God's Prescience* wholly destroy'd *Free-will* in all creatures; and had consented to have this article placed in the *Ausburg-Confession*: that *Free-will is to be acknowledged in all men that, have the use of reason, not for the things of God, which man cannot begin or at least finish without him, but only with respect to the works of this present life and the duties of civil society*. *Melancthon* added to it in the *Apology*, with respect to the exterior works of *God's law*. Here are two truths already which suffer no debate: one, that there is a *Free-will*; and the other, that of itself can do nothing in works that are truly Christian.

There was moreover a word, in that passage we have just seen of the *Ausburg-Confession*, which from men, who would attribute all to Grace, was nothing near so correct as we speak in the *Catholick Church*. 'Tis where it's said, that, of itself, *Free-will cannot begin, or at least finish the things of God*: a restriction that seems to insinuate, it can at least begin them by its own proper strength, a *Semipelagian* error, from which we shall see hereafter, the *Lutherans* now a days are not far remote.

The following article explain'd how *The will of the wicked was the cause of Sin*; where, altho' it be not distinctly enough said, that *God* is not the author of it, as much at least was insinuated, in opposition to *Luther's* first maxims.

But most remarkable, with respect to the other points of Christian Grace in the *Confession of Ausburg*, is this; that it supposes errors every where to be in the *Catholick Church*, which errors were always detested by her: so that, it seem'd they rather sought a subject for quarrelling than

XIX.
That *Luther's* doctrine on *Free-will* is retracted in the *Confession of Ausburg*.
Conf. Aug. Art. xviii. Apol. ad. eund. Art.

XX.
A word in the *Ausburg-Confession* which tended to *Semipelagianism*.

Art. xix. Ibid.

XXI.
All the reproaches made to *Catholics*, grounded on calumnies. The

first calumny on gratuitous justification.

than reforming; and the thing will appear manifest upon expounding historically the belief of the one and the other.

Confes.
Art. xx.
Apol. cap.
de Justif.
Conc. p.
61. Ibid.
p. 62. 74.
102. 103.
&c.

In the *Ausburg-Confession* and *Apology* they grounded themselves much on the remission of sin's being a pure liberality, which ought not to be attributed to merit and the worth of precedent actions. Strange! the *Lutherans* every where ascribed to themselves the honour of this doctrine, as if they had brought it back again into the Church, and upbraided *Catholicks*, that they believed, they obtained forgiveness of their sins by their own works: that they believed, they could merit it by doing, on their side, what they were able, and even by their own strength: that all they attributed to *Jesus Christ* was the having merited for us a certain habitual grace, whereby we might more easily love God; and altho' the will had it in its power to love him, it did it more willingly from this habit; that they taught no other justice than that of reason; that we could draw near to God by our own proper works independently of *Jesus Christ's* propitiation, and that we had dreamt of a justification without speaking one word of him: which they repeat incessantly to conclude as often, That we had buried *Jesus Christ*.

XXII.
They attributed to *Catholicks* two propositions that were contradictory: *ex opere operato*, what it means.

Confes.
Aug. Art.
xiii. &c.

But whilst they reproach'd *Catholicks* with so gross an error, they, on the other hand, imputed to them the quite opposite sentiment, accusing them of believing themselves justified by the sole use of the Sacrament, *ex opere operato*, as they speak in Schools, without any good disposition. How could the *Lutherans* imagine, that, amongst us, so much was given to man, and at the same time, so little? but both the one and the other are exceedingly distant from our doctrine, in as much as the Council of Trent is quite full, on one side, of the good sentiments, whereby we ought

ought to dispose our selves for *Baptism*, for *Penance* and for *Communion*, declaring even in express terms that *The reception of grace is voluntary*; and, on the other side, teaches, that the forgiveness of sins is purely gratuitous, and that all which prepares us for it either nearly or distantly from the beginning of the vocation and the first horrors of a conscience shaken by fear, even to the most perfect act of Charity, is the gift of God.

The truth is, we say with respect to infants, that, by his infinite mercy, *Baptism* sanctifies them, tho' they co-operate not by any goodmotion to this great work: but besides that in this the merit of *Jesus Christ*, together with the efficacy of his Blood, displays itself; the *Lutherans* themselves say as much; they themselves with us confessing that little children ought to be baptiz'd; that *Baptism* is necessary for their salvation; and that by this Sacrament they are made the children of God. Is not this acknowledging the force of the Sacrament, of itself and by its own action effectual, *ex opere operato*, in children? for I do not find, that the *Lutherans* hold themselves bound to maintain with *Luther*, that children carried to *Baptism* produce therein an act of Faith. They must then necessarily say with us, that the Sacrament, by which they become regenerated, operates by its own proper virtue.

If it be objected, that the Sacrament amongst us has the same efficacy in the adult, and operates in them *ex opere operato*: it's easy to comprehend, that this is not admitted to exclude the necessary good dispositions in them, but only to shew, that what God works in us, when he sanctifies us by the Sacrament, is above all our merits, all our works, all our foregoing dispositions, in a word, the pure effect of his grace, and of the infinite merits of *Jesus Christ*.

There

Sess. vi.
cap. 5. 6.
14. Sess.
xiii. 7.
Sess. xiv.
4. Sess. 6.
c. 7. Ibi.
cap. 1.
Ibid. c. 5.
6. Can. 1.
2. 3. Sess.
xiv. cap. 4.

XXIII.

According to the *Lutheran* doctrine the Sacraments operate: *ex opere operato*.

Art. ix.

XXIV.

That according to the Council of Trent, the forgiveness of sins is purely gratuitous.
Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. c. 8.

XXV.
The second cal-
lummy on
the merit
of works:
that it is
acknow-
ledg'd in
the *Aus-
burg-Con-
fession*, and
by *Luther*,
in the same
sense as it
is in the
Church.

There is no *merit* therefore of ours that obtains the forgiveness of sins; and the *Confession* of *Ausburg* ought not to have assumed the glory of this doctrine, as if it were peculiar to itself, since the *Council* of *Trent* equally acknowledged, *That we are said to be justified gratuitously, because all that goes before justification, whether Faith or Works, cannot merit this grace, conformably to what the Apostle says: if it be grace, 'tis not therefore works, otherwise grace is no longer grace.*

Here then is the forgiveness of sins and *justification*, gratuitously and without merit, establish'd in as express terms in the *Catholick Church*, as it could possibly have been done in the *Confession* of *Ausburg*.

Art. vi.
Synt. Gen.
p. 12.
Ibid. pag.
20. cap.
*de bon.
oper.*

Ibid. p.
21.

If after the remission of sins, when the *Holy Ghost* inhabits, and charity reigns in us, and the soul is render'd agreeable by a gratuitous bounty, we acknowledge *merit* in our Good-works; the *Confession* of *Ausburg* agrees with us herein, seeing that, in the *Geneva-edition* printed after that of *Wittemberg*, which was made under the inspection of *Luther* and *Melancthon*, we read *That the new obedience is reputed a justice, AND MERITS rewards. And yet more expressly, that altho' far distant from the perfection of the law, it is a justice, AND MERITS rewards. And a little after, that Good-works are worthy of great praises, that they are necessary, and that they MERIT recompences.*

Afterwards, explaining these words of the Gospel, *Whosoever hath, to him shall be given*, it says, *that our action must be join'd to God's gifts which it conserves in us; and that it MERITS their increase; and praises this saying of St. Austin, that CHARITY, WHEN IT IS EXERCISED, MERITS THE INCREASE OF CHARITY. Here then is our co-operation necessary in express*
terms,

terms, and its merit confirm'd by the *Confession of Ausburg*. Wherefore they thus conclude this article: *Thereby good men may understand what true good-works are, and how they please God, and how they are MERITORIOUS*. Merit cannot be better establish'd, nor more inculcated; nor does the *Council of Trent* insist farther on this matter. Page 22.

All this was taken from *Luther* and from the grounds of his sentiments: for in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, he writes that, *When he speaks of justifying Faith, he means that which works by Charity: for, says he, Faith MERITS that the Holy Ghost be given us*. He had just said, with this Holy Ghost all virtues are given to us, and 'twas thus he explain'd justification in that famous Commentary: it was printed at *Wittenberg* in 1543, so that twenty years after *Luther* had begun the *Reformation*, nothing as yet was found in merit that deserved reforming. Comm. in Ep. ad Gal. T. V. 243.

It must not then be wonder'd at, if, in the *Apology of the Ausburg-Confession*, this opinion be found so strongly grounded. *Melancthon* makes there fresh efforts to explain the subject of justification as his letters testify, where he thus teaches, *That there are recompences proposed and promised to the good-works of the faithful, and that they are MERITORIOUS, not of forgiveness of sins or of justification (which we have not otherwise than by Faith) but of other corporal and spiritual recompences in this life and that to come, according to what St. Paul saith, "That each one shall receive his reward according to his labour."* XXVI. The Apology asserts the merit of works.

And *Melancthon* is so full of this truth, that he confirms it a-new in the answer to the objections by these words: *We confess, as we have often done already, that altho' justification and life eter-* Apol. Confess. Aug. ad Art. 4. 5. 6. 20. Resp. ad objec. Conc. p. 96.

Ibid. p. 137.

nal appertain to Faith, good-works nevertheless MERIT other corporal and spiritual recompences, and divers degrees of recompences, according to what St. Paul says, "That each one shall be rewarded according to his labour:" For Gospel-justice being occupied about the promise of grace, gratuitously receives justification and life: but the fulfilling of the law, which proceeds consequently from Faith, is occupied about the law itself; and there the recompence, continues he, IS OFFER'D not GRATUITOUSLY, but according to works, AND IT IS DUE; and accordingly those, WHO MERIT this recompence, are justified before they fulfil the law,

Thus the merit of works is constantly avow'd by those of the *Ausburg-Confession* as a thing comprised in the notion of a recompence, there being nothing indeed more naturally united than merit on one side, when recompence is promised and proposed on the other.

And verily what they reprehend in *Catholicks*, is not their admitting merit, which by them is likewise asserted, but is, says the *Apology*, that as often as merit is spoken of, they transfer it from other recompences to justification. If then we own no merit, but what comes after, not before, justification, the difficulty will be removed; and 'tis the very thing was done at *Trent* by this precise decision: That we are said to be gratuitously justified, because not any of those things, whether Faith, or works, which precede justification, can merit it. And again: That our sins are gratuitously forgiven us, by the divine mercy, for the sake of *Jesus Christ*. Whence it follows likewise, that the Council admits no merit, but in regard to the augmentation of grace, and life eternal.

XXVII. As to the augmentation of grace, it was agreed to at *Ausburg*, as already seen: and for life eternal,

Apol. Ibid.

Sess. vi. c. 8.

Ibid. c. 9.

*Ibid. c. 16.
& Can. 32.*

XXVII.
*Melanc-
thon is in-*

nal, true it is, *Melancthon* would not own, it was merited by good-works, since, according to him, they merited other recompences only, which are promised to them in this life and the next. But when *Melancthon* spoke thus, he consider'd not, what he said himself in this same place, that 'tis *eternal glory which is due to those that are justified, according to this saying of St. Paul*, Those whom he hath justified, he hath glorified them likewise. Again, he consider'd not, that *eternal life* is the true recompence promised by *Jesus Christ* to good-works, conformably to that text of the *Gospel* by him alledged elsewhere in proof of *merit*, that those, who shall obey the *Gospel*, shall receive a hundred-fold in this world, and life everlasting in the next; where is seen, besides the hundred-fold which shall be our recompence in this life, that *life eternal* is promised as our reward in the life to come: so that, if *merit* is grounded on the promise of a recompence, as *Melancthon* avers, and with truth, nothing is more merited than *life eternal*, tho' otherwise, nothing be more gratuitous, according to that excellent doctrine of *St. Augustin*, *Life eternal is due to the merits of good-works, but the merits it is due unto, are gratuitously given us by our Lord Jesus Christ*.

consistent with himself in the *Apology*, when he there denies that good-works merit *eternal life*.

Apol. Ibid.
137.

In locis comm. cap. de Justif. Matt.
xix-29.

Aug. Ep.
105. de corr. & gr. cap.
13.

'Tis also true, that what hinders *Melancthon* from absolutely holding *eternal life* as a recompence promised to good-works, is, that *eternal life* being always in a certain manner annexed to grace, it is without works given to little children, and would be given to the adult, in case they were even surpris'd by death that very moment they were justified, not having had the leisure of *after-acting*: which hinders not, in another respect, the *eternal kingdom*, *eternal glory*, *eternal life*, from being promised as a recom-

XXVIII.
That there is something in *eternal life* which falls not under *merit*.

pence to good-works, and also from being merited, in the sense expressed by the *Ausburg Confession*.

XXIX.
Variation
of the *Lutherans* in
that which
they re-
trench'd
from the
Confession
of *Aus-
burg*.

What does it avail the *Lutherans* to have alter'd this *Confession*, to have cut off in their book of *Concord*, and other editions, these passages which authorize *merit*? by so doing, can they hinder this *Confession of Faith* from having been printed at *Wittenberg*, under *Luther* and *Melancthon*'s eyes, with no contradiction from any of the party, and with all these passages we have cited? what else then do they by their now defacing them, but make us remark the force and importance of them? but to what purpose, striking out the *merit* of good-works in the *Confession of Ausburg*, whilst they themselves leave it us, as intire in the *Apology*, as they have caused it to be printed in their book of *Concord*? Is it not certain, the *Apology* was presented to *Charles V.* by the same *Princes*, and in the same *Diet*, as the *Confession of Ausburg*? but what is still more remarkable, it was presented, as the *Lutherans* confess; *In order to preserve its true and proper sense*; for so it's worded in an authentic writing, in which the *Protestant Princes* and *States* declare their Faith. Therefore 'tis not to be doubted but the merit of works is agreeable to the spirit of *Lutheranism*, and of the *Confession of Ausburg*, and 'tis unjustly that the *Lutherans* disturb the *Church of Rome* on this head.

Præf.
Apol.
Conc. p.
48.

*Solid. re-
pet. Conc.*
633.

XXX.
Three
other ca-
lumnies a-
gainst the
Church:
the fulfill-
ing of the
law own'd
in the *A-
pology* in

I foresee notwithstanding, it may be said, they have not approved the *merit* of works in the same sense as we do, for three reasons. First, because they do not acknowledge with us, that the just man can and ought to fulfil the Law. Secondly, because for this very reason they do not admit that *merit*, which is called of *condignity*, whereof all our books are full. Thirdly, because they

they teach, that the good-works of man-justified stand in need of the gratuitous acceptation of God in order to the obtaining eternal life: which they will not allow that we admit.

Here, they'll say, are three characters whereby the doctrine of the *Ausburg-Confession* and *Apology*, will stand separated eternally from ours. But these three characters subsist not, but by as many misrepresentations of our belief: for in the first place, if we say, we ought to satisfy the law, the whole world agrees therein, since all agree, we ought to love, and the *Scripture* pronounces that *Love, or Charity, is the fulfilling of the law.* There is an express chapter in the *Apology*, which bears this title: *Of love and the fulfilling of the law.* And we have but just seen therein, that *The fulfilling of the law proceeds consequently from justification*; and this is there repeated in a hundred places, and cannot be call'd in question: but further, it is not true that we pretend, after one is justified, he satisfies the law of God in full rigour; since on the contrary, we are taught by the *Council of Trent*, that we are daily under the necessity of saying, *forgive us our trespasses*; so that, be our justice never so perfect, there is always something God amends in it by his *Grace*, renews by his *Holy Spirit*, supplies by his bounty.

As to the *merit of condignity*, besides that the *Council of Trent* hath not made use of this term, the thing, in itself, bears no difficulty, since, at the bottom, 'tis agreed on, that after justification, that is, after the person is become agreeable, and the *Holy Ghost* dwells, and *Charity* reigns in him, the *Scripture* attributes to him a kind of worthiness: *They shall walk with me in white, because they are worthy.* But the *Council of Trent* has clearly explain'd, how all this worthiness proceeds from grace; and the *Catholicks* have

the same
sense as
in the
Church.

Rom. xiii.

10.

Apol. 83.

Ib. p. 137.

Sess. vi. c.

11.

XXXI.

The merit
of condig-
nity.

Apoc. iii.

4.

Conc.

Trid. Sess.

16. c. 16.

&c.

Cbytr.
Hist. Conf.
Aug. post. Conf.
Georg. Cæl.
Hist. Conf.
Aug. T. iii.

declared it to the *Lutherans* ever since the time of the *Ausburg-Confession*, as appears from the history of *David Cbytræus*, and from that of *George Celestin*, both *Lutheran* authors. Both these historians give an account of the *Confutation* of the *Ausburg-Confession* made by the *Catholicks* at the *Emperor's* command, where they declare, *That man cannot merit eternal life by his own proper strength, and without the grace of God, and that all Catholicks confess, our works, of themselves, are not of any merit; but that, the grace of God renders them worthy of life eternal.*

XXXII.
 The merit
 of congrui-
 ty.

As for what relates to the good-works we perform before we are justified; because the person then is neither agreeable, nor just: on the contrary, is accounted still as in sin and an enemy: in this state, he is incapable of any true merit; and the merit of congruity or seemliness, which *Divines* allow in him, is not, in their opinion, any true merit; but a merit improperly so call'd, the which hath no further signification, than that it's suitable to the divine goodness to have a regard to the groans and tears, which he himself hath inspired into the sinner, who begins to be converted.

Dan. iv.

1. *Pet. iv.*
 8.

Luke 6.

37.
Resp. ad
Arg. p.
 III.

The same must be answer'd with respect to alms a sinner bestows to *redeem his sins*, according to the advice of *Daniel*; and to that *Charity which covereth the multitude of sins*, according to *St. Peter*; and that forgiveness promised by *Jesus Christ* himself to *Those who forgive their brethren*. The *Apology* answers here, that *Jesus Christ* does not add, *By doing alms, or by forgiving, one merits forgiveness, ex opere operato*, in vertue of this action, *but in vertue of Faith*. But again, who is there that pretends otherwise? who has ever said, that good-works, which please God, ought not to be done according to the spirit of *Faith*,

Faith, without which, as *St. Paul* says, *It is impossible to please God?* or who ever dreamt, that these *good-works*, and *Faith* which produces them, merited forgiveness of sins *ex opere operato*, and were capable of operating it of themselves? none so much as ever thought of employing this expression, *ex opere operato*, in the *good-works* of the faithful: 'twas only apply'd to the *Sacraments*, which are nothing but bare instruments of *God*; 'twas employ'd to shew, that their action was divine, all-powerful, and effectual of itself; and nothing but a calumny, or gross ignorance, could suppose, that, in *Catholick* doctrine, *good-works* wrought, after this manner, the forgiveness of sins and justifying grace. *God*, who inspires them, hath a regard thereunto, of his bounty for *Jesus Christ's* sake; not because we are worthy he should have a regard to them in order to justify us, but because it is worthy of him to look down with pity on humble hearts and therein compleat his own work. Such is the *merit of congruity*, which may be attributed to man even before he is justified. The thing, at bottom, is indisputable; and truly, if the term displeases, it is not used, in the *Council of Trent*, even by the *Church* her self.

But altho' *God* looks with another eye on sinners already justified; and the works, which he then produces by his spirit dwelling in them, tend more immediately to eternal life, 'tis not true, according to us, that a voluntary acceptance of them is not requisite on *God's* part, because, all is here grounded, as says the *Council of Trent*, on the promise which *God* mercifully makes to us, that is, gratuitously, for *Jesus Christ's* sake, of giving eternal life to our *good-works*, without which, we could not promise ourselves so high a recompence.

XXXIII.
The meditation of *Jesus Christ* always necessary.

Con. Trid. Sess. vi. c. 16.

*Apol. resp.
ad Arg. p.
127. &c.*

Thus, when every where, in the *Confession of Ausburg* and *Apology*, its objected against us, that, after justification, we believe we have no further need of *Jesus Christ's* mediation, we cannot more visibly be calumniated; since, besides that 'tis thro' *Jesus Christ* alone we conserve grace received, we stand in need of *God's* incessantly having a regard to that promise, he of his sole mercy, and by the Blood of the *mediator*, hath made unto us in the new covenant.

XXXIV.
How the
merits of
Jesus
Christ ap-
pertain to
us: and
how they
are impu-
ted to us.

Infine, whatever the *Lutheran* doctrine hath that's good, was not only intire in the Church, but moreover much better explain'd, by clearly banishing from it all false ideas; which principally appears in the doctrine of *imputed justice*. The *Lutherans* thought they had found out some wonderful thing and peculiar to themselves, when they said, *God* imputed to us the *justice* of *Jesus Christ*, who had perfectly satisfied for us, and render'd his *merits*, ours. Yet the *Scholasticks*, by them so much blamed, did all abound with this doctrine. Who amongst us hath not ever taught and believed, that *Jesus Christ* superabundantly satisfied for all men, and that the eternal *Father*, contented with this satisfaction of his *Son*, dealt with us as favourably as if we our selves had satisfied his justice? if this be all that's meant, when the justice of *Jesus Christ* is said to be imputed to us, 'tis what none doubted of, nor should they have disturb'd the whole universe, nor taken on themselves the title of Reformers, for so known and so avow'd a doctrine. The *Council of Trent* did fully enough acknowledge, that *The merits of Jesus Christ and his Passion* were by justification become ours, since it repeats so often, *That, in it, they are communicated to us, and without it, none can be justified.*

*Seff. vi. c.
3. 7.*

What

What *Catholicks*, together with this Council, mean, when, not satisfied with the bare imputation of *Jesus Christ's* merits, they suffer not that alone to be rely'd upon, is, that God himself is not satisfied with that only; but, in order to apply those *merits* to us, he at the same time regenerates us, visits us, renews us, diffuses his holy *Spirit* into us, which is the *Spirit* of holiness, and by that means does sanctify us: and all this together, in our doctrine, makes up the justification of a sinner. This also was the doctrine of *Luther* and *Melancthon*. Those subtle distinctions betwixt *justification* and *regeneration* or *sanctification*, wherein at present the whole nicety of the *Protestant* doctrine is placed, were born after them, and since the *Confession* of *Ausburg*. The *Lutherans* now a days own themselves, that these things were confounded by *Luther* and *Melancthon* even in the *Apology*, so authentic a work of the whole party. *Luther* indeed thus defines justifying *Faith*: *true Faith is the work of God in us, whereby we are renew'd and born again of God and the Holy Ghost. And this Faith is that true justice, which St. Paul calls the justice of God, and which God approves.* This it is therefore we are both justified and regenerated by, at the same time; and since the *Holy Ghost*, that is, *God* himself acting in us, interposes in this work, 'tis no imputation out of us, as *Protestants* will now have it, but a work within us.

And as to the *Apology*, *Melancthon* repeats there in every page, *That Faith justifies and regenerates us, and brings to us the Holy Spirit.* And a little after: *that it regenerates hearts, and brings forth a new life.* And still more clearly: *To be justified, is of unjust, to be made just: and to be regenerated, is likewise to be declared and reputed just:*

XXXV. Justification, regeneration, sanctification, renewal, how, in the main, they are all the same grace.

Solid. repet. Conc. p. 686. Epit. Art. ib. 185.

Pref. in Ep. ad Rom. T. V. f. 97. 98.

Cap. de Just. Conc. p. 68. 71. 72. 73. 74. 82. cap. de dilect. 83. &c.

just: which shews these two things concur together. Not the least appearance of the contrary is to be found in the *Confession of Ausburg*; and there's no body but perceives, how well these ideas, the *Lutherans* then had, fall in with ours.

XXXVI.
Satisfacto-
ry works
acknow-
ledged in
the Apo-
logy, and
Monks
reckon'd
among the
Saints.

*Apol. resp.
ad Arg. p.
99. de vot.
Monast. p.
281.*

It seems as if they kept farther off in *satisfacto-
ry works* and the *austerities* of a Religious life; for, they reject them frequently as contrary to the doctrine of *gratuitous justification*. But in the main, they do not condemn them so severely, as at first sight one might be induced to think: for not only *St. Antony* and the *Monks* of the first ages, men of frightful austerity, but also of these latter days, as *St. Bernard*, *St. Dominick* and *St. Francis*, are counted amongst the holy Fathers in the *Apology*. Their method of life, far from being blamed, is judged worthy of the Saints, *because*, say they, *it hinder'd them not from believing themselves justified by Faith for the love of Jesus Christ*. A sentiment far removed from the excesses we at this day behold in the new *Reformation*, where they blush not to condemn *St. Bernard*, and rank *St. Francis* in the list of fools.

Apol. Ibid.

True it is, after having placed these great men in the number of the *holy Fathers*, the *Apology* condemns the *Monks*, who follow'd them upon this pretence, that *They believed they merited the forgiveness of sins, grace, and justice, by these works, and did not receive it gratuitously*. But the calumny is manifest, since the Religious now a days still believe, as did those of old, together with the *Catholick Church* and the *Council of Trent*, that the forgiveness of sins is purely gratuitous, and given thro' the *sole merits of Jesus Christ*.

And

And that it may not be thought, the merit, which we attribute to these works of penance, was then disapproved of by the defenders of the *Confession of Ausburg*, they teach in general of works and afflictions, that they do not merit justification, but other recompences: and of alms in particular, when they are done in the state of grace, *That they MERIT many benefits from God; that THEY MITIGATE PAINS; that they MERIT we should be assisted against the perils of sin and death.* What hinders their saying as much of fasting and other mortifications? and all this well-understood is nothing in the main, but what is taught by all *Catholicks*.

Ibid. p.
136.

Calvinists have departed from the true ideas of justification by saying, as we shall see, that *Baptism* is not necessary for little children; that justice once received, is never lost; and, what is a consequence therefrom, that it is even preserved in crimes. But the *Lutherans*, upon their seeing these errors sprout up amongst the *Anabaptist-sects*, condemn'd them by these three articles of the *Confession of Ausburg*.

XXXVII.
The necessity of Baptism and the amissibility of justice taught in the *Confession of Ausburg.*
Art. ix. p.
12.

That Baptism is necessary to salvation, and that they condemn the Anabaptists, who assert, children may be saved without Baptism, and out of the Church of Jesus Christ.

That they condemn the same Anabaptists, who deny the Holy Ghost may be lost, after a man is once justified.

Art. xi. p.
13.

That those, who fall into mortal sin, are not just: that we ought to resist evil inclinations: That those, who, contrary to God's commandment, obey them, and act contrary to their conscience, are unjust, and have neither the Holy Ghost, nor Faith, nor trust in the divine mercy.

Art. vi. p.
12. cap.
de bon.
oper. p.
21.

One will be astonish'd to see so many articles of consequence decided in the *Ausburg-Confession* conformably

XXXVIII.
The inconsistent-

cies of certainty, and of special Faith, are not removed by the *Aus-burg-Confession*.

Sup. l. i.
n. ix. &
seq.

Ap. cap. de
Just. 71.
81. &c.

conformably to our sentiments; and truly, when I consider what it is they have found out that is particular, I see nothing but that *special Faith* we spoke of at the beginning of this Work, and the *infallible certainty* of the forgiveness of sins they will have it to produce in consciencies. And indeed it must be own'd this is what they give us for the capital point of *Luther's* doctrine, the master-piece of the *Reformation*, and the strongest foundation of piety and comfort to the faithful. Nevertheless, no remedy was found out against that terrible difficulty we at first observed; in being assured of sin's *forgiveness*, without ever being able to be assured of the *sincerity* of our repentance. For after all, let imputation be what it will, its certain that *Jesus Christ* imputes his justice to none but those who are penitent, and sincerely penitent, that is, sincerely contrite, sincerely afflicted for their sins, sincerely converted. Let this sincere repentance have in itself whatever worth, perfection, merit, or not have it, 'tis what I have sufficiently explain'd my self upon before, and shall add no more on this occasion. Let it be either condition, or disposition and preparation, or infine, what you please, it concerns me not, since, whatever it may be, it must be had, or there's no forgiveness. But, according to *Luther's* principles, I never can be assured whether I have, or have it not; since, according to him, I never can know whether my repentance be not an illusion, the vain conceit of my own self-love; nor, whether the sin I believe rooted out of my heart, reign not there more secure than ever, as it escapes my sight.

'Tis to no purpose to say with the *Apology*: that *Faith is incompatible with mortal sin*: now, I have *Faith*: therefore, I have not mortal sin; for 'tis from thence springs all the difficulty, since it ought

ought to be said contrarywise; *Faith is incompatible with mortal sin*; 'tis what the Lutherans have just taught: now, I am not assured that I have not mortal sin; 'tis what we have proved by Luther's doctrine: I am not therefore assured that I have *Faith*. In effect, they cry out in the *Apology*: *Who loves God enough? who fears him enough? who suffers with patience enough?* now, it may said in the same manner: *Who believes as he ought? who believes enough to be justified before God?* and what follows in the *Apology*, confirms this doubt; for it goes on: *Who doubts not frequently whether it be God or chance that governs the world? who doubts not frequently whether he shall be heard of God?* therefore you doubt frequently of your own proper *Faith*: how then are you assured of the forgiveness of your sins? you have not therefore this forgiveness: or else, contrary to *Luther's dogma*, you have it without being assured thereof; or, which is the height of blindness, you are assured of it without being either assured of the sincerity of your *Faith*, or of that of your repentance; and so, the forgiveness of sins becomes independent of both one and the other. See what this *certainty* carries us to, this ground-work, on which is wholly built the *Confession of Ausburg*, this fundamental *dogma* of *Lutheranism*.

Now what they oppose against us, *viz.* that by the uncertainty, wherein we leave afflicted consciences, we cast them into trouble, or even into despair, is not true; and this the Lutherans must agree to for this reason: for, boast they never so much of the assurance they have of their *justification*, they dare not absolutely assure themselves of their *perseverance*, nor by consequence, of their eternal happiness. Quite the contrary, they condemn those who say, justice once received never can

*Sup. l. 1.
n. ix. &
seq.*

Ibid. 91.

XXXIX.
That pursuant to the Lutherans own principles the uncertainty own'd by the Catholics should give no trouble

nor hinder the repose of consciences.

Conf. Aug.

Art. vi.

xi. c. de

bon. oper.

p. 12. 13.

21.

Rom. xii.

12.

XL.

What is the true repose of conscience in justification, and what certainty is receiv'd therein.

can be lost. But, by losing that, one loses all the right he had, as a justified person, to eternal inheritance. Therefore one is never assured, he shall never lose that justice, which it is annex'd unto. Yet, he hopes nevertheless for this blessed inheritance: in this sweet hope he lives happy, according to *St. Paul, rejoicing in hope*. Therefore, exclusive of this last assurance, which forbids all kind of doubt, one may enjoy as much repose as the state of this life permits.

Hence is seen what ought to be done in order to the acceptance of the promise and the application of it; 'tis to believe readily, that the grace of Christian justice, and by consequence, life eternal, belong to us in *Jesus Christ*; and not only to us in general, but also to us in particular. On God's side there is no hinderance, I own, to this ready and firm belief: heaven and earth shall pass away sooner than his promises fail us. But, that we have no hinderance to it, nothing to fear on our own side; the terrible example of those, who persevere not to the last end, and who, according to the *Lutherans*, were not less justified than the *Elect* themselves, evidences the contrary.

Here then, in few words, is the whole doctrine of *justification*. Altho' to nourish humility in our hearts, we are always in fear for as much as regards ourselves; with respect to God, all things are made sure to us; so that our repose in this life consists in a firm confidence in his fatherly goodness, and in a perfect resignation to his high and incomprehensible will, together with a profound adoration of this his impenetrable secret.

XLI.

The *Strasburg Confession* explains justification.

As to the *Confession of Strasburg*, if we consider its doctrine we shall see, how much reason there was, at the conference of *Marpurg*, to accuse those of *Strasburg* and the *Sacramentarians* in

In general, of understanding nothing of *Luther's* on like the
and the *Lutherans* justification: for this Confessi- Church of
on of Faith says not a word, either of justice by Rome.
imputation, or the required certainty thereof. On *V. S. l.*
the contrary, it defines justification to be that, *11. n. ult.*
whereby, of unjust, we become just, and of wicked, *Conf. Arg.*
good and upright, without giving us any other idea *c. 3. & 4.*
of it. Adds, that 'tis gratuitous, and attributes *Ibid.*
it to Faith; but to Faith join'd with Charity,
and fruitful in good-works.

Accordingly it says, with the Confession of *Ibid.*
Ausburg, that Charity is the fulfilling of the whole
law, consonantly to the doctrine of St. Paul:
yet, explains more strongly than *Melancthon*
had done, how necessarily the law ought to be
fulfill'd, affirming, That none can be compleatly *Ib. cap. 5.*
saved, if he be not so guided by the Spirit of Jesus *p. 181.*
Christ, as not to fail in any of those good-works,
for the praefising of which, God has created us; and
that it's so necessary the law should be fulfill'd, that
heaven and earth shall sooner pass away, than an
abatement be made of the least tittle of the law, or
of one single iota.

No *Catholick* ever spoke stronger of the fulfil-
ling of the law than this Confession: but altho' this
be the foundation of merit, *Bucer* spoke not
there one word of it, tho' he makes no difficulty
elsewhere of owning it in St. *Augustin's* sense,
which is that of the Church.

Whilst we are on this subject, it may not be *XLII.*
unnecessary to consider, what were the notions of Of merit
this Doctor; one of the heads of the second party according
of the new Reformation, in a solemn Conference, to *Bucer.*
where he deliver'd himself in these terms:
Whereas God will judge each one according to his
works, we must not deny that good-works perform'd *Disp. Lxx.*
by the grace of Jesus Christ, and which he himself *An. 1539.*
operates in his servants, do MERIT life eternal,
not,

not indeed from their own peculiar dignity, but from the acceptation and promise of God, and the covenant with him made: for 'tis to such works the Scripture promises the reward of eternal life, which in another respect, is nevertheless a favour, on account that these good-works, to which so great a recompence is given, are themselves the gift of God. This is what *Bucer* wrote in 1539, in the dispute of *Leypsick*; that it may not be thought, these things were written at the beginning of the Reformation, before they had time to look about them. Pursuant to this same principle the same *Bucer* decides in another place, that it must not be denied but one may be justified by works, as *St. James* teaches, since God will render to each man according to his works. And he goes on, the question is not of MERITS: we reject them not in any wise, and even acknowledge that eternal life is MERITED, according to that saying of our Saviour: "He that shall leave all for the love of me, shall have a hundred-fold in this life, and hereafter, life everlasting."

*Resp. ad
Abrinc.*

XLIII.
Bucer undertakes to defend the prayers of the Church, and shews in what sense the merits of the Saints advantage us.

Disp. Ratisb.

The merits, which every one acquires for himself, and with respect to eternal life, cannot be more clearly acknowledged. But *Bucer* advances still further: and whereas the Church was accused of attributing to Saints, not only merits for themselves but for others also, he justified it by these words: As for what relates to the publick prayers of the Church, called collects, where mention is made of the prayers and merits of the Saints; whereas, whatever in that manner is intreated, is intreated of God and not of the Saints, and moreover, is intreated thro' Jesus Christ: thereby all those, who make this prayer, acknowledge that all the merits of the Saints are the gift of God and gratuitously granted. And a little after: For we moreover do confess and preach with joy, that God rewards

rewards the good-works of his servants, not in themselves alone, but in those also for whom they pray, since he hath promised he will do good to those who love him, to a thousand generations. Thus Bucer disputed for the Catholick Church in 1546, at the Conference of Ratisbon: and indeed these prayers were made by the greatest men of the Church, and in the brightest ages; and St. Augustin himself, however great an enemy he was to presumptuous merit, acknowledged nevertheless, that the merit of Saints was useful to us, when he said, one of the reasons for celebrating in the Church the memory of Martyrs was, to the end we might be associated to their merits, and assisted by their prayers.

Lib. 20.
cont. Faust.
Manich.
21.

Thus, let what will be said, the doctrine of Christian justice, of its works and its merit, was own'd in both parties of the new Reformation; and what has since raised so much difficulty, at that time made none at all, or at most, if it did, 'twas from this cause alone, that frequently in the Reformation men were sway'd by the spirit of contradiction.

I cannot here pass by an odd doctrine of the *Ausburg-Confession* on *Justification*. Namely, that not only the love of God was not necessary therein, but necessarily supposes it already accomplish'd. Luther had told us as much before: but Melancthon explains it at large in the *Apology*. It is impossible to love God, says he, if beforehand, one hath not by Faith the forgiveness of sins; for a heart, that has a true feeling of an incensed Deity, cannot love him; it must see him appeased: whilst he threatens, whilst he condemns, human nature cannot so far elevate itself as to love him in his wrath. 'Tis an easy matter for idle contemplatives to imagine these dreams of the love of God, that a man guilty of mortal sin may love him above all

XLIV.
Strange doctrine of the Confession of *Ausburg* on the love of God.

Art. v. xx.
cap. de bon. oper.
Synt. G.
2. part.
Sup. l. 1.
n. xviii.
Apol. cap. de justif.

things; because they are not sensible what the wrath and judgment of God are: but a troubled conscience perceives the vanity of these philosophical speculations. Thence he concludes every where: *That 'tis impossible to love God, if beforehand one be not assur'd of forgiveness obtain'd.*

Ibid. p.
81. &c.

Apol. p.
66. 81.
82. 83.
121. &c.

Seff. 6.
cap. 6.

That we are therefore justified before we have the least spark of divine love, is one of the niceties of *Luther's* justification: for the whole drift of the *Apology* is, not only to make good, that one is justified before he loves, but also, that 'tis impossible to love, unless he be justified before: in so much that pardon offer'd with so great bounty can gain nothing on our hearts; we must have received it already to be in a capacity of loving God. Not so speaks the *Church* in the Council of Trent: *Man excited and assisted by grace, says this Council, believes all that God hath reveal'd, and all he hath promised; and this he believes before all things, that the impious man is justified by the grace, by the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. Conscious then to himself that he is a sinner, from that justice wherewith he is alarm'd, he turns himself towards that divine mercy, which raises up his hope, IN THE CONFIDENCE HE HATH, THAT GOD WILL BE PROPITIOUS TO HIM THRO' JESUS CHRIST, and he begins to love him as the author of all justice, namely as, who gratuitously justifies the impious. This love, so happily begun, moves him to detest his crimes; he receives the Sacrament, he is justified. Charity is gratuitously diffused into his heart by the Holy Ghost; and having begun to love God when he tender'd him his grace, he loves him yet more upon receiving it.*

XLV.
Another
error in

But here is a new *finesse* of *Lutheran* justification. *St. Augustin* lays it down, after *St. Paul*, that one of the differences of *Christian-justice* from

that of the *Law*, is, that the *justice* of the *Law* is the *Lutheran* justification. built on the spirit of fear and terror; whereas *Christian justice* is inspired by the spirit of affection and love. But the *Apology* expounds it otherwise; *Ap. p. 86. 103. &c.* and that *justice*, to which the love of God is judged necessary, which it enters into; wherein consists its purity and truth, is there throughout represented as a *justice of works*, a *justice of reason*, a *justice* through its own *peculiar merits*; in a word, as a *justice of the Law*, a *Pharisaical justice*. These were the new ideas Christianity as yet was unacquainted with; a *justice* which the *Holy Ghost* infuses into our hearts, by infusing Charity, is a *Pharisaical justice*, which cleanses but the outside: a *justice* infused gratuitously into our hearts, for *Jesus Christ's sake*, is a *justice of reason*, a *legal justice*, a *justice of works*; and finally, they accuse us of maintaining a justice by its own proper powers; whereas it appears clearly from the *Council of Trent*, that we maintain a justice, which has *Faith* for its foundation, *Grace* for its principal cause, the *Holy Ghost* for its author from its very beginning even to the last perfection it can in this life arrive unto.

I believe it now appears, how necessary it was to give a clear conception of the *Lutheran* justification from the *Confession of Ausburg* and *Apology*; inasmuch as this exposition has fully discover'd, that, in an article which is look'd upon by *Lutherans* as the master-piece of their *Reformation*, nothing after all hath been done else, but to calumniate us in some points, to justify us in others, and even in those, where some dispute may still remain, evidently to leave us the advantage.

Besides this principal article, others there are in the *Ausburg-Confession* or *Apology*, of the highest moment, for example, that *particular*

XLVI.
The *Lutherans* acknowledge the Sacrament of penance, and sacramental absolution.

Art. xi.
xii. xxii.
edit. Gen.
p. 21.
Apel. de
penit. p.
167. 200.
201.
Ib. p. 164.
167.
Ibid. 165.

absolution ought to be retain'd in Confession; that to reject it, is an error of the Novatians, and a condemn'd error; that this absolution is a true Sacrament and properly so call'd; that the power of the keys remits sins, not only in the sight of the Church, but also in the sight of God. As to their upbraiding us here, as it saying, that this Sacrament conferr'd grace without any good motion of him who receives it; I believe the reader is already tired with hearing a calumny so frequently refuted.

XLVII.
Confession
with the
necessity of
enumerating
sins.

Confess.
Aug. Art.
xi. cap. de
conf.

Cat. min.
Concord.
p. 378.

Ibid. 380.

As to what is taught in the same place, that *Confession* being retain'd, *The enumeration of sins ought not to be exacted in it, by reason the thing is impossible according to these words: who is there that knoweth his sins?* For sins that are not known, this was indeed a good excuse, but no sufficient reason for not subjecting to the keys of the Church, those that are known. And truly, it must candidly be own'd, neither the *Lutherans* nor *Luther* do therein differ in sentiments from us, since in *Luther's little Catechism*, which is unanimously received throughout the whole party, we find these words: *In the sight of God we must hold ourselves guilty of our hidden sins: but with respect to the minister, we must confess those only, which are known to us, and which we feel within our hearts.* And the better to discover the *Lutherans* conformity with us in the administration of this Sacrament, 'twill not be amiss to consider the *absolution*, which, as the same *Luther* in the same place sets it down, the *Confessor* gives the *Penitent*, after *Confession*, in these terms: *Do you not believe that my forgiveness is that of God? Yes,* answers the *Penitent*. *And I,* replies the *Confessor*, *by the orders of our Lord Jesus Christ, forgive you your sins, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

For the number of *Sacraments*, the *Apology* teaches us, that *Baptism*, the *Supper*, and *Abso-*
lution are three true *Sacraments*. Here is a fourth,
 since No difficulty ought to be made of admitting
 order into this rank by taking it for the ministry of
 the word, because it is commanded of God, and hath
 great promises. *Confirmation* and *Extreme-unction*
 are specified as ceremonies received by the *Fathers*,
 but which have not an express promise of grace.
 I know not then, what can be the meaning of
 those words of *St. James's* Epistle concerning the
 unction of the sick: *If he be in sin, it shall be*
forgiven him; but the thing was, perchance,
 that *Luther* had no opinion of this Epistle, altho'
 the Church hath never call'd it in question. This
 bold Reformer cut off from the Canon of Scrip-
 tures whatever did not suit with his notions; and
 'tis on account of this *Unction* that he writes in
 his *Captivity of Babylon*, without the least testi-
 mony from antiquity, that this Epistle seems not
 to be *St. James's*, nor worthy of the *Apostolick*
spirit.

XLVIII.
 The seven
 Sacra-
 ments.

Apol. c. de
num. Sac.
ad Art.
xiii. p.
200. &
seq.

James. v.
 18.

De C. Ba-
byl. T. II.
 86.

As for *Marriage*, those of the *Ausburg-Confes-*
son acknowledge its divine institution, its promi-
 ses too, yet temporal; as if it were a temporal
 concern to bring up, in the Church, the children
 of God, and to save ones own soul in thus breeding
 of them: or, that one of the fruits of Christian
 matrimony, were not to provide, that the chil-
 dren born in it, be named Saints as destined to
 sanctity.

Apol. Ibid.
 202.

1. Tim.
 11. 15.

1. Cor. vii.
 14.

But the *Apology* seems not, at bottom, much
 to oppose our doctrine concerning the number of
 the *Sacraments*, provided, it says, *this sentiment*,
which predominates throughout the whole pontifical
kingdom, be rejected, that the Sacraments operate
grace without any good motion of him that recieves
them. For, they are never wearied with making

Ib. p. 203.

us this unjust reproach. 'Tis there they place the whole stress of the question ; that is, were it not for the false ideas of our adversaries, scarce any difficulty would remain about it.

XLIX.
Monastick
Vows, and
that of
Continen-
cy.

Ep. ad.
Volf. T.
vii. f. 505.
&c.
Apol. resp.
ad Arg. p.
99.
de vot.
mon. p.
281.

Luther had express'd himself after a frightful manner against monastick Vows, even to say on that of *Continency* (stop your ears, chaste souls) that it was as impossible for one to keep it, as to lay aside his sex. Modesty will be offended, should I repeat the words he in many places makes use of on this subject ; and to see how he delivers himself upon the impossibility of continence, for my own part, I know not what will become of that life, he says, he led without reproach during the whole time of his celibacy, and to the forty fifth year of his age. Be that as it will, all is softned in the *Apology*, since not only *St. Antony* and *St. Bernard*, but also *St. Dominick*, and *St. Francis* are there number'd among the Saints ; and all that is required from their Disciples is, that, after their example, they seek the forgiveness of their sins from God's gratuitous bounty, which the *Church* hath too well provided for, to fear, on that head, the least reproach.

L.
St. Ber-
nard, St.
Francis,
St. Bona-
venture
placed by
Luther
amongst
the Saints ;
his odd
doubt of
the salva-
tion of *St.*
Thomas of
Aquin.

Th. 1522.
T. 1. 377.

This place of the *Apology* is to be observed, those of latter ages being there placed on the list of Saints, so that the *Church*, which brought them forth and nourish'd them at her breast, is acknowledged for the true *Church*. *Luther* could not refuse this glorious title to these great men. He counts every where amongst the Saints, not *St. Bernard* only, but also *St. Francis*, *St. Bonaventure*, and others of the thirteenth century. *St. Francis* above all seemed to him an admirable man, and animated with a wonderful fervour of spirit.

He carries down his praises as far as *Gerson* the same that in the *Council of Constance* he condemn

condemn'd *Wickliff* and *John Hufs*, and calls him *A great man in every respect*: thus the Church of Rome was still the *Mother* of Saints in the fifteenth century. There is but *St. Thomas of Aquin* whom *Luther* would doubt of; for what reason, I know not, unless it were that this Saint was a *Dominican*, and *Luther* could not forget the sharp disputes he had held with that order. Whatever it might be, *He knows not*, so he says, *if Thomas be damn'd or saved*, though doubtless, he had made no other kind of vows than the other holy Religious, had said no other *Mass*, had taught no other *Faith*.

adv. Paris. Theologast. T. ii. 193. de abr. Miss priv. primo Trac. Ibid. 258. 259. de vot. mon. Ibid. 271. 278. Praef. adv. Latom. Ibid. 243.

To return again to the *Ausburg-Confession* and *Apology*, even the article of the *Mass* is pass'd there so lightly over, it scarce can be perceived, the Protestants design'd any change therein. They began by complaining of the unjust reproach against them of having abolished the *Mass*. It is celebrated, say they, amongst us with an extreme reverence, and in it are preserved almost all the ordinary ceremonies. In reality when in 1523. *Luther* reform'd the *Mass*, and drew up his Formula, scarce any thing was alter'd by him that struck the peoples eyes. The *Introit* was there retain'd, the *Kyrie*, the *Collect*, the *Epistle*, the *Gospel* with the wax candles and incense, if they pleased; the *Credo*, the *Preaching*, the *Prayers*, the *Preface*, the *Sanctus*, the words of *Consecration*, the *Elevation*, the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Agnus Dei*, the *Communion*, the *Thanksgiving*. Such is the order of the *Lutheran Mass*, which outwardly appear'd little different from ours: moreover the singing was retain'd, and even in *Latin*, and this is what was said of it in the *Confession of Ausburg*: *Together with the song in Latin are mixt prayers in the German tongue, for the instruction of the people*. In this *Mass* were seen

LI.
The Lutheran Mass.
Cap. de Miss.
Form.
Miss. T.
11.

Cbytr.
Hist. Aug.
Conf.

the *Altar-ornaments* and *sacerdotal garments*, and great care was taken to retain them, as appear'd from their practice and the conferences then held. What is still more, nothing was said in the *Ausburg-Confession* against the *Oblation*; on the contrary, it's insinuated in this passage cited from the tripartite history: *In the city of Alexandria they assemble together on Wednesday and Friday, and the whole service is there perform'd, except the solemn Oblation.*

Conf. Aug.
c. de Miss.
Ibid.

Ibid.

The reason was, they were unwilling to discover to the people, that they had made any alteration in the publick service. To judge by the *Ausburg-Confession* alone, it might seem that *Masses* only without communicants were excepted against, *Which were abolish'd*, said they, *because they were scarce ever celebrated but for lucre*; so that, to consider barely the terms of the *Confession*, one would have said nothing, but the abuse, was aim'd at.

LII.
The Obla-
tion how
taken
away.

Consult.
Lut. apud
Cbytr. Hist.
Aug. Conf.
tit. de Ca-
none.

Mean while, those words, in which there is mention of the *Oblation* made to *God* of the propos'd gifts, were cut off from the *Canon* of the *Mass*. But the people, always struck outwardly with the same objects, minded it not at first; and to render, however, this change supportable to them, 'twas insinuated that the *Canon* was not the same in all *Churches*: that *That of the Greeks* differ'd from *that of the Latins*, and even among the *Latins*, *that of Milan*, from *that of Rome*: this was done to amuse the ignorant: but they did not think fit to acquaint them, that these *Cannons* or *Liturgies*, had no other, except very accidental, differences; that all the *Liturgies* agreed unanimously as to the *Oblation*, which was made to *God* of the proposed gifts before they were distributed; and this was what they changed

in practise, without daring to own as much in the publick *Confession*.

But, in order to render this *Oblation* odious, they would fain make the *Church* believe, she attributed to it *A merit of remitting sins; without the necessity of bringing to it either Faith, or any good motion*: which was repeated three times in the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, and they fail'd not to inculcate the same in the *Apology*; insinuating, that *Catholicks* admitted the Mass for no other reason but to extinguish piety.

In the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, they even attributed to *Catholicks* this strange doctrine, *That Jesus Christ had satisfied for original sin in his Passion, and had instituted the Mass for mortal and venial sins, which were committed every day*: as if *Jesus Christ* had not equally satisfied for all sins; and by way of a necessary clearing up of the matter they added, *That Jesus Christ had offered himself to bear the Cross, not for original sin only, but for all others too*, a truth none ever had doubted of. No wonder then that the *Catholicks*, as *Lutherans* themselves relate, upon hearing this reproach, all, as with one common voice, cried out against it saying, *That never such a thing had been heard amongst them*. But the people were to be made believe, that these wretched *Catholicks* were ignorant even of the first elements of *Christianity*.

Now, whereas the faithful had the *Oblation*, in all times made for the dead, deeply rooted in their minds, the *Protestants* would not seem to be ignorant of, or to conceal, a thing so well known, and in the *Apology*, spoke of it in these terms: *Touching what is objected against us concerning Oblation for the dead having been practised by the Fathers; we own they pray'd for the dead, AND WE HINDER NONE FROM NOW DOING IT;*

LIII.

What was invented to render the Oblation in the Mass odious.

Confess. Aug. edit. Gen. c. de Mis. p.

25.

Apol. c. de

Sacr. &

Sacrif. &

de voc.

Mis. p.

269. &

seq.

Conf. Aug.

in l. Conc.

c. de Miss.

p. 25.

Ibid. 26.

Chyt. Hist.

Conf. Aug.

Confut.

Cath. c.

de Missa.

LIV.

The Prayer and Oblation for the dead.

Apol. c.

de voc.

Mis. p.

274.

but

but do not approve the application of the Lord's Supper for the dead, in vertue of the action, EX OPERE OPERATO.

Here every thing abounds with artifice: for in the first place, when they say, they do not hinder this prayer, they had then cut it off from the Canon, and by so doing, had defaced a practice as ancient as the Church. Secondly, the objection spoke of the Oblation, and their answer is concerning Prayer, not daring to let the people see that antiquity had offer'd for the dead, because that was too convincing a proof, that it was profitable even to those, who received not the Communion.

LV.
The Lutherans reject Acrius's doctrine contrary to prayer for the dead.
Ibid.

But the following words of the *Apology* are remarkable: *Unjustly do our adversaries reproach us with the condemnation of Acrius, whom they will have condemn'd for denying, that the Mass was to be offer'd for the living and dead. This is their custom, to oppose the ancient Hereticks against us, and to compare our doctrine with theirs. St. Epiphanius witnesseth that Acrius taught, Prayers for the dead WERE UNPROFITABLE. We uphold not Acrius, but dispute against you, who say, contrary to the doctrine of the Prophets, of the Apostles and Fathers, that the Mass justifies men in vertue of the action, and merits the forgiveness for sinners, to whom it is applied, of the guilt and pain, provided they put no obstacle thereto. Thus are the ignorant imposed upon. If the Lutherans were not minded to maintain Acrius, why do they maintain this particular dogma, which this Arian Heretick had added to the Arian heresy; that we ought not to pray, or offer up oblations for the dead? This is what St. Augustin relates of Acrius after St. Epiphanius, whom he had epitomiz'd. If they reject Acrius, if they dare not support a Heretick condemn'd by the Fathers, they ought*

*Aug. li. de
hær. 53.
Ep. hær.
75.*

to re-place in the *Liturgy*, not only *Prayer*, but also the *Oblation* for the dead.

But here's the great grievance of the *Apologists*: LVI. namely, say they, that St. *Epiphanius* in condemning *Aerius* did not assert, as we do, *That the Mass justifies men in virtue of the action, EX OPERE OPERATO, and merits for the wicked, to whom it's applied, the forgiveness of the guilt and the pain, provided they put no obstacle thereto.* To hear them speak, one would say, the *Mass*, of itself alone, was to justify all kind of sinners for whom it's said, without their so much as thinking of it: but where's the advantage of thus deceiving men? The manner, say we, whereby the *Mass* is profitable even to those who think not of it, even the most wicked, contains no difficulty at all. It's profitable to them like *Prayer*, which doubtless we should never make for the most hardened sinners, did we not think it could obtain of God that grace, which would overcome their hardness of heart if they did not resist it, and often obtains it for them so abundantly, as to hinder their resistance. 'Tis thus the oblation of the *Eucharist* is profitable to the *absent*, the *dead*, and even *sinners* themselves; because, in reality the consecration of the *Eucharist*, placing before God's eyes so agreeable an object as the *Body* and *Blood* of his Son, carries with it a most powerful manner of intercession, the which, nevertheless, sinful men too often render useless by the hindrance they put to its efficacy.

What could be offensive in this manner of explaining the effect of the *Mass*? As for those who turn'd so pure a doctrine to sordid gain, *Protestants* know full well, the *Church* approved not of them; and for *Masses* without communicants the *Catholics* told them ever since that time, what hath since been confirm'd at *Trent*, that, if none communi-

cate

Chyt. Hist. cate thereat, 'tis not the *Church's* fault, *since on the*
Conf. Aug. *contrary she wish'd the assistants would communicate at*
Consut. *the Mass they bear :* so that the *Church* resembles a
Cath. c. rich benefactor, who always keeps an open table
de Miss. and ready served, altho' the guests come not to it.
Conc.
Trid. Sess. The whole artifice of the *Ausburg-Confession*,
xxii. c. 6. concerning the *Mass*, is now seen ; scarce to
 meddle with the out-side ; to change the inward
 part, even what was most ancient, without giving
 notice to the people of it ; to accuse *Catholicks* of
 the grossest errors, even to make them say con-
 trary to their own principles, that *The Mass* *ju-*
stified the sinner (a thing always reserved to the
Sacraments of Baptism and Penance) and that too
 without any good motion, in order to make the
Church and her *Liturgy* the more odious.

LVII. They were not less industrious in disfiguring
 the other parts of our doctrine, and particularly
 that of *Prayer to Saints*. *There are those*, says the
Apology, who attribute DOWNRIGHT DIVI-
 NITY to the *Saints*, by saying, *they see in us the*
hidden thoughts of our hearts. Where are those
 divines, who attribute to *Saints* the seeing of the
 hidden secrets of hearts like to God, or seeing
 them otherwise than by that light he imparts to
 them, as, when he pleased, he did to the Pro-
 phets? *They make the Saints*, said they, *not only*
intercessors, but also the MEDIATORS OF RE-
DEMPTION. They devised that Jesus Christ was
more hard, and the Saints more easy, to be ap-
peased ; they trust more in the Saints mercy than in
that of Jesus Christ ; AND FLYING FROM
JESUS CHRIST, go seek the Saints. 'Tis need-
 less to justify the *Church* from these abominable
 excesses. But to put it beyond doubt, that this
 was literally the *Catholick* doctrine, *We speak not*
now, added they, *of popular abuses ; we speak*
of the opinion of the Doctors. And a little after:
 They

They exhort to trust more in the Saints mercy, than in that of Jesus Christ. They injoin to trust in the merit of Saints, as if we were reputed just by their merits, as we are reputed just by the merits of Jesus Christ. After imputing such excesses to us, they say gravely : We invent nothing : they own themselves that the merits of the Saints are applied to us in Indulgences. Very few grains of equity would have clear'd their eyes to see, in what manner the Saints merits are useful to us, and Bucer himself, an unsuspected author, hath, on that head, sufficiently vindicated us from their reproach. Ibid. 227.

But their business was to imbitter and exasperate the minds of men. And accordingly they add further : *From the invocation of Saints they proceeded to Images. They honour'd them and thought there was a certain virtue in them, AS THE MAGICIANS make us believe, THERE IS IN THE IMAGES OF THE CONSTELLATIONS, when they are made at a certain time. Thus they stirred up the publick hatred. It must be own'd notwithstanding, that the Confession of Ausburg proceeded not to this extremity, and that Images were not there so much as spoken of. To satisfy the party, something harsher was to be vented in the Apology. Care was however taken, not to let the people know, that these prayers address'd to the Saints, that they might pray for us, were common in the ancient Church. On the contrary, they spoke of it as of A new custom, introduced without the testimony of the Fathers, and whereof nothing had been seen before St. Gregory, that is, before the seventh century. The people were not as yet inured to despise the authority of the ancient Church; and the Reformation, as yet but timorous, revered the great names of the Fathers. But now it hath harden'd its forehead, and knows not how to blush : insomuch, that they* Ibid.

have

LVIII.
Calumny
on Images,
and a gross
imposture
on the in-
vocation of
Saints.
Ibid. 229.

Ib. p. 223.
225. 229.

Dall. de
Cult. La-
tin. Joseph.
Med. in
Com. Apoc.
Jur. acc.
des Proph.

have given us up the fourth century, and are not ashamed to assure us, that *St. Basil*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustin*, in a word, all the *Fathers* of this so venerable an age have with the *Invocation* of *Saints* set up, in the new *Idolatry*, the reign of *Antichrist*.

LIX.
The Lu-
therans
durst not
reject the
authority
of the
Church of
Rome.

Conf. Aug.
Art. 21.
edit. Gen.
p. 22. 23.
&c.
Apol. resp.
ad Arg. p.
141. &c.

Then, and during the time of the *Ausburg Confession*, the *Protestants* glory'd, they had on their side the *Fathers*, chiefly in the article of *Justification*, which they held for most essential: and not only pretended the *ancient Church* was for them, but thus concluded the exposition of their doctrine. *Such is the abridgment of our Faith, where nothing will be seen contrary to Scripture, nor to the Catholick Church, nor even TO THE CHURCH OF ROME, as far as she can be known from her Writers. The matter under debate relates to some few abuses, which, without any certain authority, have been introduced into the Churches; and though there should be some difference, it ought to be borne with, since it is not necessary that Church-rites should be every where the same.*

Edit. Gen.
Art. xxi.
p. 22.

In another edition we read these words: *We DESPISE NOT THE CONSENT OF THE CATHOLICK CHURCH, nor will maintain the impious and seditious opinions she hath condemn'd; for 'tis not disordinate passions, but the authority of God's word, and OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, that hath moved us to embrace this doctrine, in order to increase the glory of God, and provide for the advantage of pious souls in the universal Church.*

Apol. resp.
ad Arg. p.
141.

Likewise in the *Apology*, after the exposition of the article of *Justification* held beyond comparison for the most weighty, they said, *That it was the doctrine of the Prophets, the Apostles, the holy Fathers, of St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, and the greatest part of the other Fathers, and of the whole Church, who acknowledged Jesus Christ for propitiator,*

ator, and author of justification ; and that all which was approved by the Pope, some Cardinals, Bishops, Divines or Monks, was not to be taken for the doctrine of the Church of Rome: whereby particular opinions were manifestly distinguish'd from the received and constant doctrine, which they made profession not to meddle with.

Accordingly, the people still believed they follow'd in every thing the sentiments of the *Fathers*, the authority of the *Catholic Church*, and even that of the *Church of Rome*, whereof a veneration was deeply imprinted in all minds. Even *Luther* himself, however arrogant and rebellious, return'd at times to his good sense, and shew'd plainly, that the ancient veneration, he had formerly had for the *Church*, was not wholly extinguish'd.

LX.
Memorable words of *Luther* acknowledging the true Church in the Romish communion.

About the year 1534, so many years since his revolt, and four years after the *Confession of Augsburg*, was publish'd his treatise for abolishing the private *Mass*. 'Tis that same wherein he relates his famous conference with the *Prince of darkness*.

T. de Miss. priv. T. vii. 236. & seq.

There, though never so incensed against the *Catholic Church*, even so far, as to hold it for the seat of *Antichrist* and abomination, so far from taking from it the title of Church, for that reason he concluded on the contrary, *That she was the true Church, the pillar and ground of truth, and the most-holy place*. In this Church, continued he, God miraculously conserves Baptism, the text of the Gospel in all languages, the remission of sins, and absolution as well in Confession as in publick ; the Sacrament of the Altar towards Easter, and three or four times a year, though one kind hath been taken away from the people ; vocation and ordination of Pastors, comfort in the agony of death : the image of the crucifix, and at the same time the remembrance of the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ ; the Psalter, Lord's Prayer, the Symbol, the Decalogue,

Decalogue, many pious Canticles in Latin and high Dutch. And a little after : Where the true Relicks of Saints are to be found, there, doubtless, hath been, and still is, the holy Church of Jesus Christ; there the Saints have dwelt, for the institutions and Sacraments of Jesus Christ are there, excepting one kind that has been taken forcibly from them. For which reason it is certain, Jesus Christ hath been there present, and his Holy Spirit there doth conserve his true knowledge and the true Faith in his Elect. Far from looking on the Cross put into the hands of dying people as an object of Idolatry, he, on the contrary, holds it for a monument of piety, and a wholesome advertisement that recall'd to our minds the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ. As yet, the revolt had not extinguish'd in his heart these good remains of the Church's piety and doctrine; nor do I wonder, that in the frontispiece of all the volumes of his works, he is represented, with the Elector his master, kneeling before a Crucifix.

LXI.
Both kinds

*Cap. de
utraq. spe-
cie 235.*

As to what he says of taking away one kind, the Reformation found itself very much perplex'd about this article, and this was what was said of it in the *Apology*: *we excise the Church, which, not being able to receive both kinds, hath suffer'd this injury: but we excuse not the authors of this prohibition.*

*Mel. lib.
1. Ep. 15.*

To comprehend the mystery of this place of the *Apology*, there needs but to observe a few words, its author *Melancthon* writes to *Luther*, consulting him on this subject, whilst the *Catholics* and *Protestants* were disputing it at *Ausburg*. *Eckius* had a mind, said he to him, that *Communion* under one, or both kinds, should be held for indifferent. The which I would not allow; and yet I excused those, who hitherto, THRO' ERROR, had

had received but one; for they cry'd out, we condemn'd the whole Church.

They durst not therefore condemn the whole Church: they abhor'd the very thought. Which led *Melancthon* to this fine expedient of excusing the Church in an error. What could those, who condemn her, say worse, since the error here meant, is supposed to be an error in Faith, and an error tending even to the intire subversion of so great a Sacrament as that of the *Eucharist*? but no other method was to be found: *Luther* approved it; and the better to excuse the Church, which communicated under one kind only, he join'd the violence, she suffer'd from her *Pastors* in that point, to the error she was led into: thus she was admirably excused, and *Jesus Christ's* promises never to abandon her, excellently well saved by this method.

Luther's words in answer to *Melancthon* are worth remarking: *They exclaim we condemn the whole Church.* The whole world was struck at this. But, answers *Luther*, *we say that the Church being oppressed and deprived by violence of one kind, ought to be excused; as we excuse the Synagogue in not having observed all the law-ceremonies during the captivity of Babylon, when she had it not in her power.*

Resp.
Luth. ad.
Mel. T.
11.
Sleid. lib.
vii. 112.

The example was cited very preposterously: for certainly those, who detain'd the *Synagogue* captive, were not of her body, as the *Pastors* of the Church, whom they here made to pass for her oppressors, were of the Church's body. Again, the *Synagogue*, tho' externally under constraint as to its observances, was not on that score drawn into an error, as *Melancthon* maintain'd the Church was, in being deprived of one kind: but, in short, the article pass'd. Left they should condemn the Church, 'twas agreed to dis-

culpate her, as to the error she was in, and the injury which had been done her; and the whole party subscribed to this answer of the *Apology*.

Conf. Aug.
Art. viii.

All this but little agreed with the eighth article of the *Ausburg-Confession*, where it's declared, *That there is one holy Church, which shall remain for ever. Now the Church is the assembly of Saints, where the Gospel is taught, and the Sacraments rightly administred.* To salve this idea of the Church, not only the people were to be excused, but the Sacraments also were to be well-administred by the Pastors; and if that of the *Eucharist* did not subsist under one kind alone, no longer could the Church herself be made to subsist.

LXII.
The Body
of the Lu-
therans
submit
themselves
in the *Aus-
burg-Con-
fession* to
the judg-
ment of
the general
Council.

The difficulty was not less pressing in condemn-
ing her doctrine, and this was the reason that the
Protestants durst not own, that their *Confession* of
Faith was opposite to the Church of Rome, or
that they had withdrawn themselves from her.
They endeavour'd to make believe, as we just
have seen, that they were not distinguish'd but
by certain rites and some slight observances. And
moreover, to shew they always pretended to
make one body with her, they openly submitted
to her Council.

Pref.
Conf. Aug.
Concord. p.
8. 9.

This appears in the Preface of the *Confession* of
Ausburg address'd to Charles V. Your imperial
majesty hath declared, that you could determine no-
thing in this affair, wherein Religion was concern'd,
but would have recourse to the Pope, to procure
the convention of an universal Council. You repeated
the same declaration the last year in the last Diet
held at Spire, and shew'd, that you persisted in the
resolution of procuring this assembly of a general
Council; adding, that the affairs you had with the Pope
being concluded, you believed, he might easily be induced
to call a general Council. Hereby is seen, what
Council it was, that was then spoken of. It was a
general

general Council, to be assembled by the Pope, and the Protestants submitted themselves to it in these terms: *If matters of Religion cannot be amiably composed with our parties, we offer in every thing obedience to your imperial majesty, to appear, and plead our own cause before such a general, free, and Christian council.* And finally: *'Tis to this general Council, and to your imperial majesty all at once, that we have and do appeal, and we adhere to this appeal.* When they spoke in this manner, it was not their intention to give the Emperor authority of pronouncing on the articles of Faith: but, upon appealing to the Council, they also named the Emperor in their appeal, as the person, who was to procure the convocation of this holy assembly, and whom they besought to keep, during the *interim*, all things in suspense. So solemn a declaration will remain for ever upon record in the most authentick act the Lutherans have ever made, and in the front of the *Ausburg-Confession*, in testimony against them, and in acknowledgment of the Church's inviolable authority. All then submitted to it, and whatever might be done, before her decision came, was all provisional. With this fine appearance they held fast the people, and may be, even deceived themselves. They went on nevertheless still further engaging, and the horror, they had of a *Schism*, diminish'd daily. After they were inured to it, and the party had strengthened themselves by treaties and leagues, the Church was forgotten; all they had said of her holy authority vanish'd like a dream, and the title of *A free and Christian Council*, by them made use of, became a pretext to render their calling upon a Council illusory, as will be seen hereafter.

This is the history of the *Ausburg-Confession* LXIII.
and Apology. We see, the Lutherans would come The con-

this mat-
ter: how
serviceable
it ought to
be to bring
back the
Lutherans.

Lib. i. Ep.
2.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 95.

Ibid.

Lib. i. Ep.
6.

Ibid.

off from many things, and, I dare say, almost all, should they only take the pains to lay aside the calumnies they there charge us with, and comprehend fully the *dogmata*, wherein they so visibly are conformable to our doctrine. If they had been advised by *Melancthon*, they would still have drawn much nearer to *Catholicks*, for he spoke not all he listed; and whilst he was at work on the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, he himself, writing to *Luther* concerning the *Articles of Faith* which he begg'd him to revise, *They must*, says he, *be often changed, and fitted to the occasion.* Thus did they patch up this famous *Confession of Faith*, which was the foundation of the *Protestant Religion*; and thus were the *dogmata* there treated. *Melancthon* was not permitted to soften matters as he wish'd: *I changed something*, says he, *every day, and changed again, and should have changed much more, would our companions have suffer'd me.* But, proceeded he, *they are concern'd at nothing*, the meaning was, as he explains it every where, that, without foreseeing what might happen, they thought of nothing but carrying all to extremities: for which reason *Melancthon*, as he owns himself, was always oppress'd with cruel anxieties, endless cares, insupportable regrets. *Luther* held him under greater restraints than all the rest together. We see, in the letters he wrote to him, he knew not how to assuage this proud spirit: sometimes he flew out against *Melancthon*, into such a passion, that he even refused to read his letters. Express messengers were sent in vain; they return'd without an answer; and the unfortunate *Melancthon*, who did all he could to stem the overflowings of his masters and the party's passion, always weeping and sighing, wrote the *Confession of Ausburg* under these constraints.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK IV.

From the Year 1530, to 1537.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The Protestant Leagues, and the resolution of taking up arms warranted by Luther. Melancthon's perplexity upon these new projects so contrary to the first plan. Bucer displays his equivocations, in order to unite the whole Protestant party, and the Sacramentarians with the Lutherans. They are equally rejected by the Zuinglians and Luther. Bucer at length deceives Luther, by owning that the unworthy do receive the truth of the Body. The agreement of Wittemberg concluded on this foundation. Whilst they are returning to Luther's opinion, Melancthon begins to doubt of it, nevertheless subscribes every thing required by Luther. The articles of Smalkald, and Luther's new explication of the Real Presence. Melancthon's limitation of the article which regards the Pope.



IGOROUS was the decree of the *Ausburg-Diet* against Protestants. As the *Emperor* there set up a kind of defensive League with all the *Catholic* States against the new Religion; the Protestants, on their side, resolved more

I.
The
Leagues
of the
Protestants
after the
decree of
the Diet of

Ausburg; and the resolution of taking to arms approved by *Luther*.

Reces. Aug. Sleid. lib. vii. 111.

M D XXXI.

Sup. lib. 1. n. 3. ii. 9.

Sleid. lib. vii. 8.

Sleid. lib. vii. 117.

than ever to unite among themselves: but the division concerning the Lord's Supper, which had broke out so openly at the *Diet*, was a perpetual obstacle to the re-union of the whole party. The *Landgrave*, no wise scrupulous, made his treaty with those of *Basil*, *Zurick*, and *Strasburg*. But *Luther* would not hear it spoken of, and the Elector *John Frederick* persisted in the resolution of making no *League* with them: wherefore, to compose this matter, the *Landgrave* dispatch'd away *Bucer*, the great *Negotiator* of those times in matters of *Religion*, who, by his orders, had an interview with *Zuinglius* and *Luther*.

At this time a little pamphlet of *Luther's* put all *Germany* in a ferment. We have seen, the great success of his doctrine had made him believe, that the *Church* of *Rome* was going to fall of itself, and he maintain'd strongly then, that arms ought not to be employ'd in the cause of the *Gospel*, not even to defend themselves against oppression. The *Lutherans* agree, nothing was more inculcated in all his writings than this maxim. He was desirous of giving his new *Church* this fine character of *primitive Christianity*: but he could not stick to it long. Immediately after the *Diet*, and while *Protestants* were at work to form the *League* of *Smalkald*, *Luther* declared, that, altho' he had constantly taught hitherto, it was not allowable to resist lawful powers; at present, he referr'd himself to the *Lawyers*, whose maxims he was a stranger to, when he wrote his first works: moreover, that the *Gospel* was not contrary to political laws; and in such bad times, one might be brought to extremity, when not only the civil Law, but conscience also would oblige the faithful to take up arms, and associate themselves against all those, who should make war upon them, even against the *Emperor*.

The

The letter, which *Luther* had written against *George Duke of Saxony*, had already given a full evidence that this Evangelical patience, so boasted of in their first writings, was now look'd on by them as quite out of the question: but that was a letter written to a particular person only. Here is a publick writing, whereby *Luther* authoriz'd those, who took up arms against their *Prince*.

*S. lib. 11.
n. 42.*

II.
Melancthon's concern at these new resolutions of war.

*L. iv. Ep.
111. lib.
viii. 117.*

*Lib. iv.
Ep. 111.*

*L. iii. Ep.
16.*

*Lib. iv.
Ep. 85.
111. lib.
Ep. 85.*

If we may give credit to *Melancthon*, *Luther* had not been consulted particularly about the leagues: the affair was somewhat palliated to him, and this writing came forth without his knowledge. But, either *Melancthon* spoke not all he knew; or, all was not discover'd to *Melancthon*. 'Tis certain from *Sleidan*, that *Luther* was expressly consulted, nor is it found that his writing was publish'd by any but himself: and truly who would have dared to do it without his orders? This writing set all *Germany* in a flame. *Melancthon* complain'd of it, but in vain: *To what purpose*, says he, *was the spreading this writing throughout all Germany? ought the alarm to have thus been sounded to stir up all the towns to make confederacies?* 'Twas with difficulty he was brought to renounce that fine idea of *Reformation*, *Luther* had infused into him, and which he had so well maintain'd, when he wrote to the *Landgrave*, *That it was better to suffer every thing than take up arms for the Gospel-cause*. He had said as much of the *Leagues* the *Protestants* were treating about, and which he had endeavour'd to prevent, all he was able, at the time of the *Diet of Spire*, to which he had been brought by his *Prince* the *Electors of Saxony*. 'Tis my opinion, says he, *that all good men ought to oppose these leagues*: but in such a party, there was no way of standing to these fine sentiments. When it was seen, that prophecies went too slowly on, and *Luther's* blast

Lib. iv.
Ep. 110.

was too weak to cast down this so much detested *Papacy*: instead of entering into themselves, they suffer'd the current of more violent measures to hurry them away. At last *Melancthon* stagger'd: but not without extreme reluctance; nay the agitation he shew'd, while these confederacies were transacting, even moves compassion: he writes to his friend *Camerarius*, *We are no longer consulted about the question, whether or no it be lawful to defend our selves by making war; there may be just reasons for it. So great is the malice of some, that should they find us defenceless, they would be capable of enterprising any thing. Strange are the errors of men, and their ignorance extreme! none are touch'd with this saying: BE NOT SOLLICITOUS, FOR YOUR HEAVENLY FATHER KNOWETH WHAT IS NEEDFUL TO YOU. Man believes not himself secure, unless he hath good and secure supports. In this weakness of minds, our theological maxims could never make themselves be hear'd.* Here he ought to have open'd his eyes and seen, that the new *Reformation*, incapable of maintaining the *Gospel* maxims, was not what he had imagined it to be till then. But let us give ear to the following part of the letter: *I will not, says he, condemn any person, neither do I believe the precautions of our people ought to be blamed, provided they do nothing that is criminal, which we shall well know how to provide against.* No question these Doctors will know perfectly well how to withhold arm'd Soldiers, how to set bounds to the ambition of Princes, after they have engaged them in a civil war. Alas! if this war itself was a crime, according to the maxims he had always maintain'd, could he hope to prevent crimes during the course of this war? But he durst not own them in the wrong; and after he could not obstruct their resolutions to a war

he

he found himself under the obligation of backing them with arguments. This caused him to sigh: Oh, says he, *How well did I foresee, at Ausburg, all these commotions?* 'Twas then he so bitterly be-
S. lib. iii. n. 59.
 moan'd the transports of his friends, who drove all to extremes, and were, said he, *concern'd at nothing*. For this he wept incessantly, nor could Luther with all the letters he wrote, give him relief. His grief increased, when he beheld so many projects of *Leagues* warranted by Luther himself. But, *in conclusion*, my dear Camerarius (thus he finishes his letter) *this thesis is wholly singular, and may be consider'd several ways: for which reason, we must pray to God.*

His friend Camerarius, in his heart, approved no more than he of these warlike preparations, and Melancthon did always, what he could, to support him: above all Luther was to be excused. A few days after the above letter, he acquaints the same Camerarius, *That Luther had written exceeding moderately, and it was with great difficulty they had forced his determination from him.*
Lib. iv. Ep. 111.
I believe, proceeds he, you see throughly, we are not in the wrong. In my thoughts, we ought to give ourselves no further trouble concerning these same Leagues, and truly, such is the present conjuncture, that, in my opinion, we ought not to condemn them: so, let us again pray to God.

Very right! but God holds in derision prayers made to him in deprecation of publick calamities, when we do not oppose such proceedings as draw them on us. What do I say? when we approve, when we subscribe to them, tho' with reluctance. Melancthon was sensible of this, and disturb'd as well for what he himself, as what others did, intreats his friend to comfort and support him. *Write to me often*, thus he speaks, *I have no ease but from your letters.*

This

III.
Bucer's
Negotiations.
Zuinglius's
death in
battle.

Hosp. ad
An. 1531.

Tr. de
abrog.
Miss. T.
vii. 230.

This then was a point determin'd in the new *Reformation*, that it was lawful to take up arms, and necessary to join in leagues. At this conjuncture, *Bucer* enter'd upon his negotiations with *Luther*, who, whether from the desire of making a strong confederacy, was already peaceably disposed towards the *Zuinglians*, or, from some other motive, was found in a right humour, return'd at least good words: but the negotiation was broke off by the war that interven'd between the *Catholick* and *Protestant Cantons*. The last, though stronger, were vanquished. *Zuinglius* was kill'd in battle, and shew'd, however hot a disputant, he was no less bold a Combatant. The party was put to it to defend, in a *Pastor* of souls, this unbecoming bravery, and the excuse was, that he had follow'd the *Protestant* army in the capacity of a *minister*, rather than that of a *Soldier*: but after all, it was certain, he had advanced far into the thickest of the engagement, and died sword in hand. His death was follow'd by that of *Oecolampadius*. *Luther* says, he was beaten to death by the Devil, whose assault he had not power to withstand; and others, that he died of grief, unable to resist the anguish which so many troubles brought upon him. In *Germany*, the peace of *Nuremberg* moderated the rigours of the *Diet* of *Ausburg's* decree: but the *Zuinglians* were excepted against in the agreement, not by the *Catholicks* only, but also by the *Lutherans*; and the *Elect*or *John Frederick* obstinately persisted to exclude them from the league, until they should agree with *Luther* in the article of the *Real Presence*. *Bucer*, not desponding, pursued his point, and by all possible ways strove to surmount this only obstacle to the re-union of the party.

To bring either party over by persuasion was judged impossible, and already fruitlessly at *Marpurg*.

purg attempted. A mutual toleration, each one abiding in his sentiments, had been contemptuously rejected there by *Luther*, who persisted to say, with *Melancthon*, that this would be injurious to the truth which he defended. No other method was there left for *Bucer*, but to betake himself to *equivocations*, and own the *substantial Presence* so, as to leave himself a loop-hole.

The way he took towards so considerable a concession, is surprising. 'Twas a common discourse of the *Sacramentarians*, that they ought to take heed, not to place meer *simple signs* in the *Sacraments*. *Zuinglius* himself had made no difficulty of acknowledging something more in them; and to verify his words, some promise of grace annex'd to the *Sacraments* was sufficient. The example of *Baptism* sufficiently proved this. But, whereas the *Eucharist* was not only instituted as a *sign* of grace, but moreover was call'd the *Body* and *Blood*: not to be a meer sign, 'twas necessary the *Body* and *Blood* should be received in it. 'Twas said therefore, they were received by *Faith*: the *true Body* was therefore received, for *Jesus Christ* had not two. When they had come so far as to say, the *true Body* of *Jesus Christ* was received by *Faith*, they own'd, the *proper Substance* was received. The receiving it, without its being present, was not to be conceived. Behold then, said *Bucer*, *Jesus Christ* *substantially present*. There was no further need of mentioning *Faith*, 'twas sufficient to understand it. Thus did *Bucer* absolutely, and without restriction, own the *Real and Substantial Presence* of our Lord's *Body* and *Blood* in the *Eucharist*, altho' they were only in *Heaven*; which notwithstanding was afterwards softned by him. In this manner, without admitting any thing new, he changed his whole language; and by habituating himself

IV.
The
grounds of
Bucer's
equivocations
in order to re-
concile
parties.

himself to speak like *Luther*, began at length to say, they never had understood each other, and that this long debate, which had caused so much heat, was nothing but a dispute on words.

V.

The agree-
ment *Bu-*
cer propo-
ses is only
in words.

Luth. Ep.
ad Sen.
Francos.
Hosp. ad
1533.
128.

Ep. Mel.
Ap. Hosp.
1530.
110.

He had spoke more justly, had he said, their agreement was but in words; since, after all, this *Substance*, which was said to be *present*, was as *distant* from the *Eucharist* as heaven is from earth; and was no more received by the faithful, than the *Substance* of the sun is received into the eye. 'Tis what *Luther* and *Melancthon* acknowledge. The first call'd the *Sacramentarians* a *double-tongued faction*, on account of their equivocations; and said, they made *A devilish game with the words of our Lord*. The *Presence*, which *Bucer* admits, said the latter, is *but a Presence in word, and a Presence of vertue*. But 'tis the *Presence of the Body and Blood, and not that of their vertue, which we require*. If this *Body of Jesus Christ* be no where else but in heaven, and is not with the *Bread, nor in the Bread*; if finally, 'tis not to be found in the *Eucharist* but by the contemplation of *Faith*, 'tis nothing but an *imaginary Presence*.

VI.

Equivoca-
tion on
Spiritual
Presence
and Real
Presence.

Bucer and his companions were displeased, that, what was done by *Faith*, was here call'd *imaginary*, as if *Faith* were nothing but a meer *imagination*. Is it not enough, said *Bucer*, that *Jesus Christ* is present to the pure spirit, and to the soul elevated on high.

Ibid. 111.

There was a deal of equivocation in these words. The *Lutherans* agreed, that the *Presence* of the *Body and Blood* in the *Eucharist*, was above the senses, and of a nature not to be perceived, but by the *mind* and *Faith*. But required nevertheless, *Jesus Christ* should be *present* in the *Sacrament*, in his proper *Substance*: whereas, *Bucer* would not have him present indeed, elsewhere than in heaven, whither the mind, by *Faith*,

went

went in search of him; the which had nothing in it that was real, nothing that answer'd to the idea given by these sacred words: *This is my Body, This is my Blood.*

But that which is spiritual, is it not *real* also? and is there nothing that's *real* in *Baptism*, because there's nothing in it that's corporeal? Another equivocation. Spiritual things, such as *Grace* and the *Holy Ghost*, are as *present* as they can be, when spiritually *present*. But what is a *body present* in spirit only, if not a *body absent* indeed, and *present* only in thought? a presence which cannot, without fallacy, be call'd *real* and *substantial*.

But would you then, said *Bucer*, have *Jesus Christ* corporally present: and do not you yourselves own, the *Presence* of his *Body* in the *Eucharist* to be *spiritual*?

Neither *Luther* with his companions, nor the *Catholicks* deny'd, that the *Presence* of *Jesus Christ*, in the *Eucharist*, was *spiritual* as to the manner, provided it was granted them, it was corporeal as to the *substance*; that is, in more plain terms; the *Body* of *Jesus Christ* was *present*, but in a *divine, supernatural, incomprehensible* manner, which the senses could not reach; spiritual, in as much as the mind alone, subject to Faith, could know it, and that its end was intirely celestial. *St. Paul* had justly call'd the human body raised from the dead, *A spiritual body*, on account of the qualities it was vested with, divine, supernatural and above the reach of the senses: with much more reason, the *Body* of our *Saviour* placed in the *Eucharist*, after so incomprehensible a manner, might be so call'd.

Then again, all they said of the mind's being raised on high to seek *Jesus Christ* at the right hand of his *Father*, was no more than a metaphor,

VII.

The Presence of the Body, how spiritual.

1. Cor. xv. 44. 46.

VIII.

If the Presence of the Body be only spiri-

tual, the words of the institution are in vain.

phor, not at all capable of representing a *substantial* reception of the *Body* and *Blood*, since this *Body* and *Blood* remain'd only in heaven, as the soul, united to its body, remain'd only on earth; nor was there any more a *true* and *substantial* union betwixt the faithful and the *Body* of our Lord, than if there never had been an *Eucharist*, and Jesus Christ had never said, *This is my Body*.

Let us suppose these words had never at all been utter'd by him; the *Presence* by the mind and by Faith would subsist still just alike, and never mortal man have dreamt of calling it *substantial*. Now, if the words of Jesus Christ oblige us to more strong expressions, 'tis because they give us what would not have been given us without them, namely, the proper *Body* and proper *Blood*, whose immolation and effusion have saved us on the *Cross*.

IX.

Whether a local presence were to be admitted.

Two fruitful sources of cavil and equivocation still remain'd for *Bucer*; one in the word *local*; and the other, in the word *Sacrament* or *Mystery*.

Luther and the defenders of the *Real Presence* never had pretended, that the *Body* of our Lord was contain'd in the *Eucharist* as in a place it was commensurate to, and comprehended in, after the ordinary manner of bodies; on the contrary, they believed nothing to be in the flesh of our Lord, which was distributed to them at the holy table, but the simple and pure *Substance* together with the Grace and Life it abounded with; nay more than this, divested of all sensible qualities and ways of being we are acquainted with. Accordingly, *Luther* easily granted to *Bucer*, that the *Presence* under debate was not *local*, provided it were granted him, it was *substantial*; and *Bucer* mightily insisted on the exclusion of *local Presence*, believing, he just as much weakened thereby, what he was forced to allow of the *substantial*

substantial Presence. He even made use of this artifice to exclude the *oral* manducation of our Lord's *Body*. He conceived it to be not only useless, but also gross, carnal, and little worthy of the spirit of Christianity: as if this sacred pledge of the *Flesh* and *Blood* offer'd on the Cross, which our Saviour still gave us in the *Eucharist* to ascertain to us, that the victim and immolation of it was wholly ours, had been a thing unworthy of a Christian; or that this *Presence* ceased to be true, under pretext that, in a *mystery* of *Faith*, God had not design'd to make it sensible; or lastly, that a Christian was not touch'd with this inestimable token of divine love, because it was not known to him otherwise, than by the word alone of *Jesus Christ*: things so far distant from the spirit of Christianity, that the grossness of their minds cannot be sufficiently wonder'd at, who, not able to relish them, look on others that do, as gross-minded.

The other source of quibble was in the words *Sacrament* and *Mystery*. *Sacrament*, in our ordinary use thereof, means a sacred sign; but in the *Latin* tongue, whence this word is taken, *Sacrament* often signifies a high, secret and impenetrable thing. This likewise is the signification of the word *Mystery*. The *Greeks* have no other word to express *Sacrament* than that of *Mystery*; and the *Latin Fathers* frequently call the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation*, the *Sacrament* of the *Incarnation*, and so of the rest.

X.
Equivocation on the word *Sacrament* and *Mystery*.

Bucer and his followers thought they had gain'd their point, when they said the *Eucharist* was a *Mystery*, or a *Sacrament* of the *Body* and *Blood*; or, that the *Presence* therein acknowledged, and the union therein had with *Jesus Christ*, was a *sacramental Presence* and union: and on the contrary, the defenders of the *Real Presence*, both

Catholicks

Catholicks and *Lutherans*, understood it to be a presence and union, real, substantial, and properly so call'd; but hidden, secret, mysterious, supernatural in its manner, and spiritual in its end, proper, infine, to this *Sacrament*; and 'twas for all these reasons they call'd it *sacramental*.

Far then were they from denying, that the *Eucharist* was a *mystery* in the same sense, as the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*; namely, a thing high as well as secret, and altogether incomprehensible to the mind of man.

XI.
The Eu-
charist is a
sign, and
how.

Nor did they even deny, that it was a sacred sign of the *Body* and *Blood* of our *Lord*; for they knew that the sign does not always exclude a *Presence*; on the contrary, they are signs of such a nature as denote the thing present. When it's said, a sick person hath given signs of life, the meaning is, from these signs is seen that the soul is still *present* in its proper and true substance: the external acts of *Religion* are intended to shew, that indeed we have *Religion* in our hearts; and when the Angels appear'd in human shape, under this appearance, which represented them to us, they were in person present. Thus, the defenders of the *literal sense* spoke nothing incredible, when they taught, that the sacred symbols accompanied with these words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, betoken to us *Jesus Christ present*, and that the *Sign* is most closely and inseparably united to the *thing*.

XII.
All the
mysteries
of Jesus
Christ are
signs in
certain re-
pects.

It must be own'd still further, that what is most true, if I may so say in Religion, is both together a *mystery* and a sacred *sign*. The *Incarnation* of *Jesus Christ* figures to us that perfect union we ought to have with the *Divinity* in grace and glory. His birth and death are the *figure* of our spiritual birth and death: if in the *mystery* of the *Eucharist* he vouchsafe to approach
our

our bodies in his own proper *Flesh* and *Blood*; thereby he invites us to the union of minds, and *figures* it unto us. In a word; until we arrive to full and manifest truth, which will render us for ever happy, every truth will be to us the *figure* of a truth more intimate: we shall not taste *Jesus Christ* all pure in his proper form, and wholly disengaged from *figure*, but when we behold him in the fulness of his glory at the right hand of his *Father*: for which reason, if in the *Eucharist* he is given to us in *substance* and truth, 'tis under a foreign *species*. This is a great *Sacrament* and great *Mystery*, wherein, under the *form* of Bread, is hidden to us a true Body; in the Body of *man* the majesty and power of a *God* are hidden to us; where such great things are perform'd after a manner impenetrable to human senses.

What a field for *Bucer's* quirks in these several significations of the words *Sacrament* and *Mystery*? And how many evasions might he not prepare from terms each one warp'd to serve his own turn? If he granted a *Real* and *Substantial Presence* and union, tho' he did not always express he understood it by *Faith*, he believed he saved all, by tacking to these expressions the word *Sacramental*: this done, he cry'd out amain, they disputed only on words, and how strange it was they should disturb the *Church*, and prevent the progress of the *Reformation*, for so frivolous a dispute.

No body would credit him herein. Not only *Luther* and the *Lutherans* laugh'd at his pretence, that the whole Eucharistick dispute was only a verbal dispute: even those of his own party told him plainly, he imposed on the world by his *substantial Presence*, which, after all, was nothing but a *Presence* by *Faith*. *Oecolampadius* had observed, how much he puzzled the cause by this his *substantial Presence* of the *Body* and *Blood*, and a

XIII.

Bucer
plays with
words.

XIV.

Oecolampadius
had warn'd
Bucer of
the fallacy
there was
in his equi-
vocations.

Epist.
Oecol. ap.
Hosp. An.
1530.
112.

little before he died, had written to him, that, in the *Eucharist*, there was only for those *Who believed, an effectual promise of the remission of sins by the Body given and the Blood shed: that our souls were nourished therewith, and our bodies associated to the Resurrection by the Holy Ghost: that we thus received the true Body, and not Bread only, nor a simple figure: (he was far from saying it was received substantially) That the wicked indeed received nothing but a figure; but then Jesus Christ was present to those who were his, as God who strengthens, and who governs us.* This was all the *Presence Oecolampadius* would allow, who concluded in these words: *This is all, my dear Bucer, we can grant the Lutherans. Obscurity is dangerous to our Churches. And after such a manner, my dear Brother, as not to deceive our hopes.*

XV.
The sentiments
of those of
Zurick.
Hosp. 127.

M D
XXXII.
Ep. ad
March.
Brand. ib.
Hosp. Ibid.

Those of *Zurick* testified to him with greater freedom, that 'twas an illusion to say, as he did, that this dispute was only verbal, and warn'd him that his expressions led him to *Luther's* doctrine, which he came to indeed at last, but not so soon. Then they raised loud complaints of *Luther*, who would not treat them brethren-like, yet own'd him nevertheless for an excellent servant of God; but it was taken notice of in the party, that this soothing only served to make him more inhuman and insolent.

XVI.
The Confession
of Faith of
those of
Basil.

M D
XXXIV.

Those of *Basil* shew'd themselves greatly distant both from *Luther's* sentiments and *Bucer's* equivocations. In the *Confession of Faith*, which is placed in the collection of *Geneva* at the year 1532, and in *Hospinian's* history at the year 1534, because, perchance, it was publish'd for the first time in one of these two years and renew'd in the other, they say, that *As the water remains in Baptism, where the forgiveness of sins is offer'd us; so the Bread and Wine remain in the Supper, where, with the Bread and Wine, the*

true

true Body and true Blood of Jesus Christ are figured to us and offer'd by the minister. To explain this more plainly they add, Our souls are nourish'd with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ by a true Faith, and put in the margin by way of elucidation, that Jesus Christ is present in the Supper but sacramentally, and by the remembrance of Faith, which raises man up to heaven, and does not take Jesus Christ from thence. Finally, they conclude by saying, That they shut up not the natural, true, and substantial Body of Jesus Christ in the Bread and Drink, nor adore Jesus Christ in the signs of Bread and Wine, commonly call'd the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; but in heaven, at the right hand of God his Father, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.

Conf. Bas.
1532.
Art. vii.
Synt. i.
part. p.
72.

Here is what *Bucer* would neither speak nor explain clearly; that *Jesus Christ*, as man, was no where but in heaven, altho', as much as one can judge, he was then of that opinion: but he plunged deeper and deeper into such metaphysical notions, that neither *Scotus*, nor the most refined *Scotists* came near to him, and all his equivocations turn'd on these abstracted ideas.

At this time *Luther* set forth his book against private *Mafs*, where that famous conference is to be found he formerly had with the angel of darkness, and where, forced by his reasons, he abolishes, like an impious wretch, that *Mafs* he had said for so many years with so much devotion, if we may believe him. Wonderful is it to see, how seriously and graphically he describes his awaking, as in a surprise, in the dead of the night; the manifest apparition of the *Devil* to dispute against him; *The terror he was seiz'd with, his sweat, his trembling, and the horrible palpitation of his heart in this dispute; the cogent arguments of the Demon who leaves no respite to the mind; the sound*

XVII.
Luther's
conference
with the
Devil.

De abrog.
Miss. priv.
T. vii.
226.

of his thundering voice; his oppressive ways of arguing, when he makes both question and answer be perceived at once. I then was sensible, says he, how it so often happens, that men die suddenly towards the dawn of day: 'tis by means of the Devil, who can kill and strangle them, and without all that, by his disputes reduce them to such streights, that 'tis enough to cause death, as I have many times experienced. By the way, he informs us that the Devil frequently attack'd him in this manner, and to judge of the other attacks by this, 'tis to be believed, he had learnt many other things from him besides the condemnation of the *Mafs*. 'Tis here he attributes to the evil spirit the sudden death of *Oecolampadius*, as well as that of *Emser*, formerly so great an enemy to *Lutheranism* in its birth. I mean not to enlarge on so trite a subject: am satisfied with having observed that God, for the confusion, or rather conversion of the Church's enemies, hath permitted *Luther* to fall into so great a blindness as to own, I don't say, that he was frequently tormented by the Devil, which might be common to him with many Saints; but, what is peculiar to him, that he was converted by his industry, and that the spirit of falsehood had been his tutor in one of the principal points of his Reformation.

In vain do they pretend here, that the Devil disputed against *Luther*, only to cast him into despair by convincing him of his crime; for the dispute had not that tendency. When *Luther* appears convinced, and to have nothing more to answer, the Devil presses no further on, and *Luther* rests satisfied he had learnt a truth he was before ignorant of. If this be true, how horrible to have been tutor'd by such a master? If *Luther* fancied it, what illusions, what black thoughts harbour'd in his mind? If he invented it, how dismal a story was this to glory in?

The *Swiss* were scandaliz'd at *Luther's* conference, not so much because the *Devil* appear'd there in capacity of a *Doctor*; they were embarrassed enough to defend themselves against a like vision, which *Zuinglius* bragg'd of, as we have already seen: but they could not endure his manner of treating *Oecolampadius*. Most bitter libels came out on this subject: but *Bucer* went on negotiating; and thro' his mediation, a conference was held at *Constance* for the re-union of both parties. There those of *Zurick* declared they would compound with *Luther*, provided, on his side, he would grant them three points: one, that the *Flesh* of *Jesus Christ* was not eaten but by *Faith*; another, that *Jesus Christ*, as man, was only in a determinate place of heaven; the third, that he was present in the *Eucharist* by *Faith* in a manner proper to the *Sacraments*. These words were plain and void of equivocation. The rest of the *Swiss*, and in particular those of *Basil*, gave their joint approbation to so clear a proposal. And indeed it was wholly conformable to the *Basil-Confession* of *Faith*: but altho' this *Confession* gave a perfect idea of the *figurative-doctrine*, those of *Basil*, who had form'd it, fail'd not to make another two years after, on the occasion we are going to relate.

In 1536 *Bucer* and *Capito* came from *Strasburg*. These two famous Architects of the most refined equivocations, taking occasion from the *Confessions* of *Faith*, which the *Churches* separated from *Rome* prepared to send to the *Council*, the Pope had just summon'd, besought the *Swiss* to make one, which might be so fashion'd, as to help on the agreement they had great hopes of bringing about; that is, it was proper to make choice of such terms as the *Lutherans*, violent abettors of the *Real Presence*, might take in good part. With this view, a new *Confession* of *Faith* was drawn up, which is

XVIII.

The *Swiss* are incensed against *Luther*.

Hosp. ad

An. 1533.

131.

XIX.

Another *Basil-Confession* of *Faith*, and the former mollified.

M D

XXXVI.

Synt. Conf.

Gen. de

Helv. Conf.

Hosp. p. 2.

141.

Conf. Bas.
1536.
Art. 22.
Synt. p. 1.
pag. 70.

the second of *Basil*: the expressions we have related in the first, which specified too precisely that *Jesus Christ* was not present except in heaven, and that nothing but a *sacramental Presence*, and by remembrance only, was to be own'd in the *Sacrament*, are here retrench'd. In reality, the *Swiss* appear'd always mightily bent on asserting, as they did in the first *Basil-Confession*, *That the Body of Jesus Christ is not contain'd in the Bread*. Had they used these terms without some modification, the *Lutherans* would easily have perceived, their aim was directly levell'd against the *Real Presence*; but *Bucer* had expedients for every thing. By his insinuations, those of *Basil* were determin'd to say, *That the Body and Blood are not naturally united to the Bread and Wine; but that the Bread and Wine are Symbols, by which Jesus Christ himself gives us a true communication of his Body and Blood, not to serve as a perishable nourishment to the belly, but to be a food of life eternal*. The remainder is nothing but a somewhat long explication of the fruits of the *Eucharist*, which all the world allows of.

XX.
Equivoca-
tion of this
Confession
of Fath.

There was not here so much as one word the *Lutherans* might not agree to; for they do not pretend, the *Body of Jesus Christ* is a food for our stomachs, but teach, that *Jesus Christ* is united to the *Bread and Wine* in an incomprehensible, heavenly, and supernatural manner; so as, it may well be said without offending them, that he is not *naturally united* to them. The *Swiss* dived no further into it: insomuch that, by means of this expression, the article past in terms a *Lutheran* might admit of, and wherein nothing else at most could be desired, but more precise and less general expressions.

Of the *substantial Presence*, a thing debated at that time, they would neither say good nor ill, and

and this was all *Bucer* could gain of them. Afterwards, they neither stuck to the first nor second *Confession of Faith*, which they had publish'd by joint agreement, and in due time we shall see a third make its appearance with quite new expressions.

Those of *Zurick* taught by *Zuinglius*, and full of his spirit, came into no composition with *Bucer*; and instead of giving in, like those of *Basil*, a new *Confession of Faith*; to shew how they persisted in the doctrine of their master, they publish'd that which he had sent to *Francis I.* which has been mention'd already, and wherein he'll admit of no other *Presence* in the *Eucharist*, but that which is made *by the contemplation* of Faith, clearly excluding the *substantial Presence*.

XXI.
Each one followed the impressions of his guide.

Thus they continued to speak naturally. They alone did so, among all the defenders of the *figurative sense*; and it may be seen at this time how, in the new *Reformation*, every *Church* acted according to the impression received from their respective masters. *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, ardent and in extremes, inspired the *Lutherans* and those of *Zurick* with the like dispositions, and kept off all mitigations: if *Oecolampadius* were sweeter-temper'd, accordingly those of *Basil* were more compliant; and the people of *Strasburg* enter'd into all the trimming measures, or rather, all the *equivocations* and *fallacies* of *Bucer*.

He carried the thing so far, that, after granting all that could be wish'd on *real, essential, substantial Presence*, even *natural*, that is, the *Presence of Jesus Christ* according to his nature; he found out expedients to make the faithful, unworthily communicating, receive him really. He required only, that the impious and infidels, for whom this holy *Mystery* was not instituted, should be out of the question; yet said neverthe-

XXII.
Bucer owns that the unworthy receive really the Body.

Hosp. p. 2. fol. 135.

less, he was resolved, even in that point, to have no difference with any body.

M D
xxxvi. With all these explications, no wonder he appeased *Luther* till then implacable. *Luther* believed the *Sacramentarians* truly came over to the doctrine of the *Ausburg-Confession* and *Apology*.
Hosp. p. 2. *Melancthon*, with whom *Bucer* was negotiating,
An. 1535. acquainted him, he found *Luther* more tractable,
1536. and that he began to speak more amicably of him and his colleagues. At last was held the assembly of *Wittemberg* in *Saxony*, where the deputies of the *German Churches* on both sides were present. *Luther* at first spoke very big. He would have *Bucer* and his companions declare that they recanted, and quite rejected all they said to him of the thing itself, its not being so much in dispute between them, as the manner. But at length after much discourse, wherein *Bucer* display'd all his suppleness, *Luther* took these articles, which this minister and his companions granted him, for a retraction.

XXIII. I. That, according to the words of *St. Irenæus*, the *Eucharist* consists of two things, one terrestrial, and the other celestial; and by consequence, the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* are truly and substantially present, given and received with the Bread and Wine.

The agree-
ment of
Wittem-
berg, and
its six arti-
cles.
Hospin. p.
2. An.
1536.
f. 145.
In lib.
Conc. 729.
II. That altho' they had rejected *Transubstantiation*, and did not believe that the Body of *Jesus Christ* was contain'd locally in the Bread, or had with the Bread any union of long continuance out of the use of the Sacrament, it ought nevertheless to be own'd that the Bread was the Body of *Jesus Christ* by a sacramental union, to wit, that the Bread being presented, the Body of *Jesus Christ* was at the same time present and truly given.

III. They added notwithstanding, That out of the use of the Sacrament, whilst it's kept in the
CIBORIUM,

CIBORIUM, or *shew'd in processions*, they believe it is not the Body of Jesus Christ.

IV. They concluded, saying, *That this institution of the Sacrament hath its force in the Church, and depends not on the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister, nor of his who receives.*

V. *That as for the unworthy, who, according to St. Paul, truly eat the Sacrament, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly presented to them, and they TRULY RECIEVE THEM, when the words of Christ's institution are observed.*

VI. *That, notwithstanding, they take it to their judgment, as says the same St. Paul, because they abuse the Sacrament by taking it without repentance, and WITHOUT FAITH.*

Luther, as it seems, had nothing more to desire. When they grant him that the *Eucharist* consists of two things, the *heavenly* and the *terrestrial*; and from thence conclude, that the *Body of Jesus Christ* is *substantially present* with the *Bread*, they shew sufficiently that he is not present only to the mind, and by *Faith*: but Luther, who was no stranger to the subtilties of the *Sacramentarians*, pushes them on still further and makes them say, that those even, *who have not Faith, do nevertheless truly receive the Body of our Lord.*

XXIV.
Bucer de-
ceives Lu-
ther, and
eludes the
terms of
agreement.
Art. i.
Art. v. &
vi.

One would not have suspected, they believed that the *Body of Jesus Christ* was not *present* to us but by *Faith*, since they own'd he was present, and truly received by those, who were *without repentance and without Faith.*

After this *Confession* of the *Sacramentarians*, Luther easily persuaded himself, he had no more to demand; and judged, they said all that was necessary to confess the *Reality*: but he had not as yet sufficiently understood, that these doctors had particular secrets to explain every thing. How clear soever the words of agreement appear'd to him,

*Bucer de-
clar. Conc.
Witt.
Id. ap.
Hosp. An.
1536 148.
seq.*

him, *Bucer* had reserved a loop-hole. He has publish'd several writings, where he discovers to his friends in what sense he understood each word of the agreement; there he declares, that *Those, who, according to St. Paul, are guilty of the Body and Blood, receive not only the Sacrament, but the thing itself indeed, and are not without Faith, altho'*; says he, *they have not that lively Faith which saves us, nor a true devotion of heart.*

Who would ever have believed, that the defenders of the *figurative sense* could have own'd a true reception of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Supper, without having *Faith* which saves us? What! is a *Faith*, which does not suffice to justify us, sufficient, according to their principles, to communicate *Jesus Christ* truly to us? Their whole doctrine contradicts this sentiment of *Bucer*; nor can this minister himself, tho' never so subtle, possibly reconcile, what he here says, with his other maxims. But 'tis not my business here to discuss the subtilties, by which *Bucer* disingages himself from the agreement he had sign'd at *Wittenberg*: I am content with remarking this undoubted fact; that all the *Churches* of *Germany*, which defended the *figurative sense*, by their deputies in body assembled, agreed in an authentick act, *That the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly and substantially present, given, and received in the Supper with the Bread and Wine; and that the unworthy, who are WITHOUT FAITH, do nevertheless receive this Body and this Blood, provided they keep to the words of the institution.*

If these expressions can agree with the *figurative sense*, from henceforth 'tis no longer known what words do signify, and every thing may be found in every thing. Men, that have accustomed their minds to put such a stretch on human language, will make the *Scripture* and *Fathers* speak just what

what they please, nor must we wonder at so many violent interpretations they give to the most clear passages.

Whether *Bucer* had a settled design of amusing the world with these affected *equivocations*, or whether some confused idea of the Reality made him believe, he might safely subscribe these expressions so evidently contrary to the *figurative sense*, I leave the *Protestants* to determine. Certain it is, *Calvin* his friend, and in some manner his disciple too, when he had a mind to express a blameable obscurity in a profession of *Faith*, said *There was nothing so perplexed, so obscure, so ambiguous, so intricate in Bucer himself.*

XXV.
Calvin's
sentiments
on equivoca-
tions in
matters of
Faith.

Ep. Cal. p.
50.

These artificial ambiguities were so agreeable to the spirit of the new *Reformation*, that *Melancthon* himself, of his own nature the most sincere of all mankind, and who had the most condemn'd *equivocations* in matters of *Faith*, suffer'd himself to be drawn into them against his inclinations. We find a letter of his in 1541, where he writes, that nothing is more unworthy of the *Church*, *Than to use equivocations in Confessions of Faith, and to draw up articles, which wanted other articles to explain them; that it was making peace in appearance, and in fact exciting war; and in short, that it was, like the false Council of Sirmium and the Arians, mixing truth with error.* He certainly judg'd right; and at the same time, notwithstanding, when the first assembly of *Ratisbon* was held to reconcile the *Catholic* Religion with the *Protestant*, *Melancthon* and *Bucer* ('tis not *Catholics* that write it, but *Calvin* who was present, and the intimate friend of both) *Melancthon*, I say, and *Bucer* composed, on *Transubstantiation*, equivocal and deceitful forms of *Faith*, to see if they could satisfy their adversaries in yielding nothing to them.

Lib. 1.

Ep. 25.

1541.

Ib. Ep. 76.

Ep. Cal. p.

38.

Calvin

Ep. p. 50.

Ibid.

Ep. p. 38.

Calvin was the first to condemn these affected obscurities and shameful dissimulations. *With reason*, says he, *you blame the obscurities of Bucer. It must be freely spoken*, said he in another place, *it is not lawful to embarrass that with obscure and equivocal words, which requires light---* Those, that would hold a medium here, forsake the defence of truth. And in regard to those snares just spoken of, which Bucer and Melancthon, in their ambiguous discourses, laid for the Catholics nominated to confer with them at Ratisbon, this is what the same Calvin says of them: *As to my own self I do not approve their design, altho' they have their reasons: for they are in hopes the points in contest will strike out light, and clear up of themselves. For which reason they pass over abundance of things, and fear not those ambiguities; they do it with a good design, but yield too much to the times.* Thus did the authors of the new Reformation, with very bad reasonings, either practise or excuse the most criminal of all dissimulations, viz. affected equivocations in points of Faith. The sequel will make appear whether or no Calvin, who seems here as averse from the practice himself, as easy to excuse it in others, will always continue in the same mind; and return we to Bucer's artifices.

XXVI.
Whether
the Pre-
sence be
durable in
the Eucha-
rist.

Art. II.

III.

Luth. Ser.
cont. Suer.
It. Ep. ad
quend.

In the midst of the advantages he gave the Lutherans in the agreement of *Wittemberg*, he gain'd at least one thing which Luther let pass; that the *Body and Blood of Jesus Christ* had no durable union, out of the sacramental use, with the Bread and Wine; and that the Body was not present, when shewn, or carried in procession.

This was not Luther's sentiment; till then he had always taught, that the *Body of Jesus Christ* was present from the time the words were said, and remain'd present till the *species* were alter'd:

so that, according to him, he was *present* even *when carried in procession*, altho' he would not approve that custom. *Hospin. 2. p. 14. 44. 132. &c.*

And truly, if the *Body* was *present* in vertue of the words of *institution*, and these words to be understood according to the *letter*, as *Luther* maintain'd; it's clear, the *Body* of *Jesus Christ* ought to be *present* at the instant he says, *This is my Body*, since he does not say, *this will be*, but *this is*. It became the power and majesty of *Jesus Christ*, that his words should have a present effect, and the effect subsist as long as things should remain in the same state. Nor was it ever doubted, from the earliest times of *Christianity*, that the *portion* of the *Eucharist* reserved for the *Communion* of the sick, and for that which the faithful practis'd daily in their houses, was as much the true *Body* of our *Saviour*, as that distributed to them at *Church*. *Luther* had always understood it thus; and yet he was prevail'd upon, I know not how, to tolerate the contrary opinion, which *Bucer* propos'd at the time of the agreement.

He would not however suffer him to say, that the *Body* was not in the *Eucharist* except precisely at the time of using it, that is, in the *reception*; but only, *That out of the sacramental use there was no durable union betwixt the Bread and Body*. This union therefore subsisted even out of the use, that is, out of *Communion*; and *Luther*, who made the *holy Sacrament* be elevated and adored even at the time the agreement was making, would not have suffer'd, it should be deny'd him, that *Jesus Christ* was there present during these ceremonies: but in order to take away the *Presence* of the *Body* of our *Lord* in the *tabernacles*, and *processions* of *Catholicks*, which was what *Bucer* aim'd at, it sufficed to let him say,

XXVII.
Sequel;
conclusion
of the
agreement.

Form.
Miss. T.
II.
Hosp. An.
1536. 148.

say, that the *Presence* of the *Body and Blood*, in the Bread and Wine, was not of *long duration*.

Now had it been ask'd of these Doctors, how long therefore this *Presence* was to remain, and to what time they determin'd the effect of our Lord's words? they would have been strangely non-plust. The sequel will make this appear, and we shall see, upon their abandoning the *natural sense* of our Saviour's words, as they had no longer any certain rule, so they had no precise terms, no certain Faith.

Conc. p.
729.
Hosp. 2. p.
fol. 145.
Chytr.
Hist. Con-
fess. Aug.

An 1536.
1537. 38.
Calv. Ep.
p. 324.

XXVIII.
Those of
Zurick
laugh at
Bucer's
equivoca-
tions.

Such was the issue of the *Wittemberg-agreement*. The articles are in the same manner reported by both parties of the new *Reformation*, and were sign'd at the end of *May*, in 1536. 'Twas agreed upon, it should not take place till it had pass'd the approbation of the *Churches*. *Bucer* and his companions so little doubted of their party's approbation, that, immediately after the agreement was sign'd, they celebrated the *Supper* with *Luther* in token of perpetual concord. The *Lutherans* have always praised this agreement. The *Sacramentarians* have recourse to it as an authentick treaty, which had re-united all *Protestants*. *Hospinian* pretends that the *Swiss*, a part at least of that *Body*, and *Calvin* himself, approved it. An expresse approbation thereof is indeed found amongst *Calvin's* letters: so that this agreement ought to have place among the publick acts of the new *Reformation*, since it contains the sentiments of all the *Protestants* in *Germany*, and of almost all the *Reformation*.

Bucer had a great mind to have it approved by those of *Zurick*. He went to their assembly and harangued them in words lofty and indefinite; then presented them a long writing. In such verbosity equivocations easily lie hid; and few words suffice to speak *Faith* plainly. But 'twas in vain
he

he display'd his subtilties, he could not make the *Swiss* digest his *substantial Presence*, nor his *Communion* of the *unworthy*: they were always resolute to express their thoughts just as they were, in plain terms, and to say, as *Zuinglius* did, that there was no *physical* or *natural* presence here, not a *substantial* one, but a presence *by Faith*, a presence *by the Holy Ghost*, reserving to themselves the liberty of speaking of this *Mystery* as they should find most suitable, and always the most plainly and intelligibly that was possible. 'Tis what they wrote to *Luther*; and *Luther*, scarce recover'd from a dangerous illness, and wearied perchance with so many disputes, sought repose, and remitted the affair to *Bucer*, whom he thought he had agreed with.

Hosp. p.
2. f. 150.
& seq.

Ibid. 157.

But having mentioned in his letter, that, agreeing about the *Presence*, they were to leave the manner to the divine *Omnipotence*; those of *Zurich*, amazed he should speak to them of *Omnipotence* in an action, where they conceived nothing that was miraculous, no more than their master *Zuinglius*, complain'd to *Bucer*, who took great pains to satisfy them: but the more he insisted with them, that there was something *incomprehensible* in the manner *Jesus Christ* gave himself to us in the *Supper*, the more the *Swiss*, on their side, repeated to him, there was nothing more easy. A figure in these words, *This is my Body*; the meditation on the death of our Lord; and the operation of the *Holy Ghost* in the hearts of the faithful, had no kind of difficulty, and they were determin'd to admit no other miracles therein. So indeed should the *Sacramentarians* speak, would they speak naturally. The *Fathers*, 'tis true, did not speak so: they found no example too elevated to raise up mens minds to the belief of this *Mystery*, but employ'd the *creation*, the *incarnation* of our Lord, his *miraculous birth*, all the miracles

XXIX.
The
Zuinglians
will not
hear mira-
cles spoken
of, nor of
Omnipo-
tence in
the Eucha-
rist.

of

of the *old* and *new Testament*, the wonderful change of *Water* into *Blood*, and of *Water* into *Wine*; persuaded as they were, that the *miracle*, they acknowledged in the *Eucharist*, was not less the work of *Omnipotence*, and yielded in nothing to the most *incomprehensible miracles* of the hand of God. Thus was it fitting to speak in the doctrine of the *Real Presence*, and *Luther* had with this faith retain'd the same expressions. From a contrary reason, the *Swiss* found all easy, and chose rather to turn our Lord's words into a *figure*, than to call upon his *Omnipotence* to verify them: as if the most simple manner of explaining the *Holy Scripture* were always that wherein reason encounters the least difficulty; or miracles an expence to the Son of God, when minded to give us an earnest of his love.

XXX.
Doctrine
of *Bucer*,
and re-
turn of the
Towns
from his
belief to
that of the
Real Pre-
sence.

Altho' *Bucer* could no wise prevail on those of *Zurick*, during two years continually treating with them, after the *Wittemberg*-agreement, and foresaw very well, that *Luther* would not always be so peaceable as at that time, he left nothing undone in order to keep him in this quiet disposition. As for his part, he stuck close to the agreement, insomuch that, ever after, he was lookt upon by those of the *Ausburg-Confession*, as a member of their *Churches*, and in every thing acted conjointly with them.

Hosp. 162.

Ep. ad
Ital. int.
Calv. Ep.
p. 44.

Whilst he treated with the *Swiss*, and endeavour'd to make them comprehend something in the *Supper* more high and impenetrable than they imagined; among other things, he told them, that altho' there was no doubt of *Jesus Christ's* being in heaven, they did not well understand where this *heaven* was, nor what it was, and that *heaven was even in the Supper*; the which carried with it so clear an idea of the *Real Presence*, that the *Swiss* could not bear to hear him.

The

The comparisons he employ'd, tended rather to inforce than weaken the *Reality*. He often instanced in that common action of shaking one another by the hand: a very pat example to shew, that the same hand, made use of to execute treaties, may be a pledge of the *Will* to fulfill them; and that a transitory contract, yet real and substantial, may become, by the institution and custom of men, the most effectual sign they can give to each other, of perpetual union.

Ever since he had begun to treat about the agreement, he was not fond of saying with *Zuinglius*, that the *Eucharist* was the *Body* as the *Rock* was *Christ*, and as the *Lamb* was the *Pass-over*: he chose rather to say, it was so, as the *Dove* is call'd the *Holy Ghost*; which shews a *Real Presence*, there being none that doubts, that the *Holy Ghost* was present, and even in a particular manner, under the form of the *Dove*.

He brought also the example of *Jesus Christ's* breathing on the *Apostles*, and at the same time giving them the *Holy Ghost*; which also proved, the *Body of Jesus Christ* is not less communicated, nor less present, than the *Holy Ghost* was to the *Apostles*.

All this notwithstanding, he approved of *Calvin's* doctrine full fraught with *Sacramentarian* notions; and was not afraid to subscribe a *Confession of Faith*, where the same *Calvin* said, that the manner, whereby the *Body and Blood of Jesus Christ* were received in the *Supper*, consisted in the *Holy Ghost's* uniting therein what was separated in place. The which, it seems, was clearly owning *Jesus Christ* to be absent. But *Bucer* explain'd every thing, and had wonderful solutions for all kind of difficulties. But what is here most remarkable; the Disciples of *Bucer*, and, as we have before observed, whole Towns, that under

Ep. ad Ital. int. Calv. Ep. p. 44.

Int. Ep. Calv. p. 398.

his guidance had so far removed from the Real Presence, came now again insensibly into this belief. The words of *Jesus Christ* were so well weighed, and so often repeated, that at last they wrought their effect, and men return'd naturally to the *literal sense*.

XXXI.
Melancthon begins to doubt of *Luther's* doctrine. The weakness of his theology.

While *Bucer* and his disciples, the avow'd enemies of *Luther's* doctrine on the *Real Presence*, drew near to him, *Melancthon* the same *Luther's* dear disciple, the author of the *Ausburg-Confession* and the *Apology*, wherein he had maintain'd the *Reality* so far even as to appear inclined to *Transubstantiation*, began to waver.

Hosp. An.
1535.
137. &
seq.

It happen'd in 1535, or thereabouts, that this doubt came into his mind, for before that time, one may have seen, how very steady he was. He had even compos'd a book of the *holy Fathers* sentiments on the Supper, wherein he had collected abundance of passages most express for the *Real Presence*. As the criticism of those days was not the most accurate, he perceived at length that some of them were supposititious, and that the ignorant or unwary transcribers had father'd some works on the *ancients* they were not the authors of. This troubled him, altho' he had produced a sufficient number of passages which were incontestable. But what perplexed him most was, his finding many places in the *ancients*, where they call'd the *Eucharist* a *figure*. He collected these passages, and was astonish'd, said he, *To see therein so great a diversity*: a weak divine! not to understand, that neither the condition of *Faith*, nor of this present life, could suffer us to enjoy *Jesus Christ* face to face, for which reason he gave himself to us under a borrow'd form, necessarily joining *truth* with the *figure*, and the *Real Presence* with the exterior *sign* that hid it from us. Thence proceeds that apparent diversity of the

Lib. 3.
Ep. 114.
ad Joan.
Brent.

Ibid.

Fathers.

Fathers, which *Melancthon* was astonish'd at. The case would have been the very same to him had he nearly inspected into the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation*, and the *Divinity* of the Son of God, before the disputes of *Hereticks* had obliged the *Fathers* to speak more precisely; in general, wherever we must reconcile together two truths, that seem contrary, as in the *Mystery* of the *Trinity* and that of the *Incarnation*, to be *equal* and to be *inferior*; and in the *Eucharist*, to be *present* and to be in *figure*; naturally a sort of language is form'd that seems confus'd, unless we have the key of the *Church*, as one may say, and the full comprehension of the whole *Mystery*: over and above the other reasons which obliged the *Fathers* to conceal the *Mysteries* in some places, affording in others certain means to understand them by. *Melancthon* did not know so much. Dazzled with the name of *Reformation* and the outside of *Luther* then somewhat specious, he immediately inlisted himself in the party. As yet but young and a great humanist, but only a humanist, newly call'd by the *Elect*or *Frederick* to teach the *Greek* tongue in the *university* of *Wittenberg*, he could have made but little progress in the search of ecclesiastical antiquity with his master *Luther*, and was strangely shock'd at the contrarieties he thought he met with in the *Fathers*.

To puzzle himself compleatly, he must also read the book of *Bertram* or *Ratramnus*, which then began to appear; an ambiguous work, where certainly the author did not always understand himself. The *Zuinglians* build mightily upon it. The *Lutherans* cite it for themselves, and find nothing in it to condemn, but that it sowed the seeds of *Transubstantiation*. There is indeed enough to content, or rather to puzzle, both sides. *Jesus Christ* in the *Eucharist* is so much a

XXXII.
A dispute
in *Ra-*
trammus's
time that
confounds
Melan-
cthon.

L. iii. Ep.
188. ad
Wit.

Centur. ix.
c. 4. in-
clin. doct.
tit. de
Cæn.

human body by his substance, and so unlike a human body in his qualities, that it may be said, he is, and is not one, in different respects: in one sense, considering his *Substance* only, 'tis the same *Body* of *Jesus* which was born of *Mary*; but in another sense, considering the manner alone, it is a different one, he has made himself by his own word, which he hides under shadows and figures, whose truth reaches not the senses, but discovers itself to *Faith* alone.

This is what, in *Ratramnus's* time, raised a dispute amongst the faithful. Some, with respect to the *Substance*, said, the *Body* of *Jesus Christ* was the same in the *Virgin's* womb, and in the *Eucharist*: others, with respect to the *qualities* or rather *manner* of being, would have it another.

1. Cor.
xv. 37. &
seq.

Thus we see *St. Paul*, speaking of a body risen again, makes, as it were, another body of it far different from that we have in this mortal life, tho' in the main it be the same: but on account of the different qualities this body is vested with, *St. Paul* makes it like two bodies, one whereof he calls *The animal body*, and the other, *The spiritual body*. In this same sense, and with much more reason, one might say, that the *Body* received in the *Eucharist* was not that, which came from the womb of the *Blessed Virgin*. But tho' this might be said in a certain sense, others fear'd by saying it, they should destroy the *truth* of the *Body*.

Ibid. 42.
43. 44.
46.

Thus did *Catholick Doctors*, agreeing in the main, dispute about the *manner*; some following the expressions of *Paschasius Ratbert*, who would have the *Eucharist* to contain the same *Body* that came from the *Virgin*: others adhering to those of *Ratramnus*, who maintain'd, it was not the same. To this another difficulty was join'd: in as much as, a strong persuasion of the *Real Presence*, which obtain'd over the whole Church alike

alike in the *East* as in the *West*, had prevail'd with many Doctors, no longer to suffer in the *Eucharist* the term of *figure*, which they believed was contrary to the *truth* of the *Body*; and others, who consider'd that *Jesus Christ* does not give himself in the *Eucharist* in his proper form, but under a foreign one, and in a manner so full of mysterious significations, allow'd indeed, that the *Body* of our *Saviour* was *really* in the *Eucharist*, but under *Figures*, under *Veils*, and in *Mysteries*: the which to them appear'd so much the more necessary, as in other respects it was most certain, that, to possess *Jesus Christ* in his manifest truth under the covert of no *figure*, was a privilege reserved to the next life. All this was true in the main: but before it could be well explain'd, there was room for long disputes. *Ratramnus*, who follow'd the last party, had not dived sufficiently into this matter, and without differing at the bottom from other *Catholicks*, ran sometimes into obscure expressions, and which it was no easy matter to reconcile: the very cause that all his readers, *Protestants* as well as *Catholicks*, have taken him in so many different senses.

Melancthon found, that this author left his reader to guess at his meaning rather than explain'd it clearly; and, with him, bewilder'd himself in a subject, which neither he nor his master *Luther* had ever well comprehended.

By these readings and these reflections, he fell into a deplorable uncertainty: but whatever might be his opinion, of which we shall speak hereafter, he began to go off from his master, and wish'd most ardently, that an assembly might be held to treat afresh on this subject, *Without passion, without sophistry, and without tyranny.*

This last word visibly glanced, at *Luther*: for in all the assemblies, till then held in the party,

Mel. li.

III. Ep.

188.

XXXIII.

Melancthon wishes for a new decision.

Luther's

tyranny.

Lib. II.

Ep. 40

III. Ep.

188. 189.

Lib. III.
Ep. 114.
ad Brent.

as soon as *Luther* appear'd and declared his mind, *Melancthon* himself assures us, the rest had no more to do but to hold their tongues, and all was over. But, whilst disgusted at such proceedings, he demanded new deliberations and went off from *Luther*, yet he rejoiced that *Bucer* with his companions drew near to him: we have but just seen him approve the agreement, wherein the *Real Presence* was fixed more than ever to the external symbols, in as much as it was there agreed, that it subsists in the *Communion* of the unworthy, altho' there be neither Faith, nor repentance. We need but cast our eyes, for a moment, on the agreement of *Wittemberg* not only subscribed but procured also by *Melancthon*, to be convinced how positively he there assents to a thing, of which he had conceived so violent a doubt.

XXXIV.
Luther
makes a
new declaration of
his Faith
in the articles of
Smalkald.

Art. Smal.
Præf. in
li. Conc.
Ap. Hosp.
An. 1537.
155.
Mel. iv.
Ep. 196.

The reason was, *Luther* always push'd forward, and was so resolute in this point, that he knew not how to contradict him. The year after the agreement, viz. in 1537, while *Bucer* continued negotiating with the *Swiss*, the *Lutherans* met at *Smalkald*, the ordinary place of their assemblies, and where all their leagues were formed. This assembly was held occasionally from the Council's being summon'd by *Paul III*. *Luther* could not be over-satisfied with the *Confession* of *Ausburg* and the *Apology*, nor the manner his doctrine was there explain'd, since he himself draws up new articles; to the end, says he, it may be known, what are the points which he's resolved never to depart from: and it was upon that score he procured this assembly. There *Bucer* declared himself so explicitly on the *Real Presence*, That he satisfied, says *Melancthon*, and says it with a great deal of joy, Even those of our people, who were hardest to be pleased. Consequently he satisfied *Luther*;

ther; and here again *Melancthon* is transported that *Luther's* sentiments are followed while he himself abandons them; that is, he was transported to see all the *Protestants* in *Germany* re-united. *Bucer* had given his assent: the Town of *Strasbourg*, with their Doctor, declared for the *Confession* of *Ausburg*; human policy, the most urgent of their concerns, had gain'd its end; and as for doctrine, they were afterwards to provide for that.

It must be own'd, however, that *Luther* proceeded herein with more sincerity. He was determin'd to speak plainly on the subject of the *Eucharist*; and thus worded the sixth article of the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*: *As to the Sacrament of the Altar*, says he, *we believe that the Bread and Wine are the true Body and true Blood of our Lord; and are not only given and received by pious Christians; but also by the impious.* These last words are the same we have seen in the agreement of *Wittemberg*, except that, instead of the word *unworthy*, he uses the word *impious*, the which is stronger, and removes the idea of *Faith* to a farther distance.

'Tis also to be observed, that, in this article, *Luther* says nothing against the *Presence* out of the use of the *Sacrament*, nor against the *durable union*; but only *That the Bread was the true Body*, not determining *when* it was so, nor for how long a time.

Yet this expression, *That the Bread was the true Body*, before that time, had never been inserted by *Luther* into any publick act. The terms he commonly made use of were, that the *Body* and *Blood* were given *under the Bread and under the Wine*: thus he delivers himself in his little *Catechism*. He adds a word in the *great one*, and

XXXV.
A new way of explaining the words of the institution.

Conc. p. 330.

XXXVI.
Whether Bread can be the Body.
Conc. p. 380.
Conc. p. 553.

says, *That the Body is given to us in the Bread and under the Bread.* I cannot as yet find out exactly, at what time these two *Catechisms* were made; but it's certain, the *Lutherans* acknowledge them both for *authentick acts* of their Religion. To the two particles, *in*, and *under*, the *Confession* of *Ausburg* adds *with*; and 'tis the ordinary phrase of true *Lutherans*, *That the Body and Blood are received in, under, and with the Bread and Wine*; but hitherto it had never been said, in any publick act of the whole party, that the *Bread and Wine* were the *true Body* and *true Blood* of our Lord. *Luther* here passes it into a decision, and necessary it was for *Melancthon*, how great soever his repugnance might be to unite the *Bread* with the *Body*, to subscribe even, that the *Bread* was the *true Body*.

XXXVII.

Luther
cannot
evade the
equivoca-
tions of the
Sacramen-
tarians,
who elude
all.

Conc. p.
730.

The Lutherans, in their book of *Concord*, assure us, that *Luther* was forced to this expression by the subtilties of the *Sacramentarians*, who found out shifts to accommodate to their *moral Presence* *Luther's* strongest and most precise expressions for the *Real and Substantial Presence*; whence, by the bye, may be again observed, that we must not wonder if they invent ways to make the *Fathers* side with them, since *Luther* himself, living and speaking, who knew their subtilties, who undertook to combat against them, was so put to it to find out words they should not wrest to their own sense by their interpretations: harassed with their subtilties, he bent his mind to the search of such an expression as they might no longer abuse, and digested the article of *Smalkald* into the above said form.

S. Lib. II.
n. 3. 31.

And indeed, as we have already remark'd, if the *true Body* of *Jesus Christ*, according to the opinion of the *Sacramentarians*, be not received but

but by the means of *lively Faith*, it cannot be said with *Luther*, that *The impious receive it*; and as long as they shall say, the *Bread* is not the *Body* of *Jesus Christ* except in *figure*, doubtless they will never say with the article of *Smalkald*, *That the Bread is the true Body of Jesus Christ*; thus *Luther*, by this expression, excluded the *figurative* sense, and all the *Sacramentarian* interpretations. But he was not aware, he no less excluded his own doctrine, since we have shewn that *Bread* cannot be the *true Body*, unless it become so by a *true and substantial change*, which *Luther* would not admit.

Thus, when *Luther* and the *Lutherans*, after turning the article of the *Real Presence* so many different ways, strive at last to explain it so precisely as that the *Sacramentarian* equivocations might remain wholly banish'd; we see them fall insensibly into expressions, which, according to their principles, bear no sense, and cannot be maintain'd but in the *Catholick* doctrine.

At *Smalkald* *Luther* expresses himself exceedingly harshly against the *Pope*, who, as we have seen, was not so much as mention'd in the articles of the *Ausburg-Confession of Faith*, nor in the *Apology*; and sets down, among the articles he's resolved never to depart from, *That the Pope is not of divine right; that the power, he has usurpt, is full of arrogance and blasphemy; that all he has done, or now does in vertue of this power, is diabolical; that the Church can and ought to subsist without a head; that, altho' the Pope should own he is not of divine right, but was made purely to maintain more conveniently the unity of Christians against sectaries, yet no good could ever come from such an authority; and that the best way to govern and preserve the Church, is for all the Bishops, tho' unequal*

XXXVIII.

Luther's transports against the Pope in the Smalcaldick articles.

Art. iv. p. 312.

unequal in their gifts, to remain equal in their ministry, under one only head Christ Jesus; lastly, that the Pope is the true Antichrist.

XXXIX.

Melancthon is for acknowledging the Pope's authority.
Conc. p.
 336.
Conc. p.
 338.

I expressly mention at length these decisions of *Luther*, because *Melancthon* put a restriction on them which cannot be enough consider'd.

At the foot of the articles are seen two lists of subscriptions, wherein the names appear of all the *Ministers* and *Doctors* of the *Confession of Ausburg*. *Melancthon* sign'd with all the rest: but, because he refused to agree to what *Luther* had said of the Pope, he made his subscription in these terms: *I Philip Melancthon approve the foregoing articles as pious and christian. As for the Pope, my opinion is, if he would receive the Gospel, that for the peace and common tranquillity of those, who are already under him, or shall be hereafter, we may grant to him that superiority over the Bishops, which already he enjoys by human right.*

Mel. lib.
 11. Ep.
 76.

This superiority of the Pope, which way so ever established, was the aversion of *Luther*. Ever since the time the Popes condemn'd him, he became irreconcilable to this power, and had made *Melancthon* even sign an act, whereby the whole new Reformation said in body: *We never will approve of the Pope's having power over the rest of the Bishops.* At *Smalkald*, *Melancthon* retracts it. 'Twas the first and only time he ever, by publick act, gainsays his master; and because his complaisance, or submission, or some such like motive, whatever it might be, made him pass over, in spite of all his doubts, the much more difficult point of the *Eucharist*, 'tis to be believed, that powerful reasons prevail'd on him to resist in this. These reasons deserve so much the more to be examin'd into, as by this examination we shall discover the true state of the new Reformation; the particular

particular dispositions of *Melancthon*; the cause of all the troubles he never ceased to be agitated with, even to his death; how a man engages on the wrong side with general good intentions, and how he there remains, in the midst of the most violent anxieties that can be felt in this life. The thing well deserves to be thoroughly understood, and *Melancthon* himself, by his own writings, will discover it to us.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

B O O K V.

*General reflexions on the agitations of
MELANCTHON, and the state of the
REFORMATION.*

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

Melancthon's agitations, regrets, wavering condition. The cause of all his errors, his hope disappointed. The sad success of the Reformation, and the wretch'd motives that attract men to it, own'd by the authors of the party. Melancthon in vain confesses the perpetuity of the Church, the authority of her judgments, and that of her Prelates. Imputed justice leads him away, tho' by his own Confession, he finds nothing of it in the Fathers, not even in St. Augustin, whom formerly he had grounded himself upon.

I.
How Melancthon
was drawn
over to
Luther.



UTHER's beginning, at which time Melancthon wholly gave himself over to him, carried a specious appearance. Crying out against abuses, which were but too true, with much force and liberty, interspersing his discourses with pious sentiments, the
remains

remains of a good education, and leading withal a life, if not perfect, at least reproachless in the sight of men, are things which have no small attractive influence. We are not to think that Heresies always have, for their authors, libertines and wicked men, that, on set purpose, make *Religion* subservient to their passions. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* does not represent to us *Heresiarchs* as men destitute of *Religion*, but as men who mistake it. They are, says he, great wits, for weak minds are equally useless for good or evil. But these great wits, proceeds he, are withal ardent and impetuous, who pursue the affair of *Religion* with a boundless warmth: that is, who have a false zeal, and mixing proud disgust, and invincible assurance, and their own conceits together with religion, drive all to extremes; to this likewise must be join'd an air of regularity, else where would be that seduction so much foretold in *Scripture*? *Luther* had formerly a relish for devotion. In his early youth, affrighted at a clap of thunder which he thought would have struck him dead, he enter'd into *Religion* with dispositions sufficiently sincere. What happen'd in the affair of *Indulgences* has appear'd already. If he advanced extraordinary points of doctrine, he submitted himself to the *Pope*. Condemn'd by the *Pope*, he appeal'd to the *Council*, which all *Christendom*, many ages before, had appeal'd to as the only remedy for the grievances of the *Church*. The reformation of corrupted manners was desired by the whole universe; and altho' sound doctrine ever alike subsisted in the *Church*, yet was it not alike expounded by all *Preachers*. Many preach'd up nothing but *Indulgences*, *Pilgrimages*, *Alms-giving* to the *Religious*, and of these practices, which were but the accessories of plety, they made the groundwork. They spoke not as much as they ought of
the

Orat. 26.

the *Grace* of *Jesus Christ*; and *Luther*, who by the *dogma* of *imputed justice* gave quite a new turn to it, appeared to *Melancthon*, as yet but young and more versed in human literature than theological matters, the only Preacher of the Gospel.

II.
Melancthon smitten with novelty, and the deceitful appearance of imputed justice.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 126.
col. 574.

Ibid. col.
575.

'Tis but just to give all to *Jesus Christ*. The Church gave all to him in the *justification* of a sinner, as well and better than *Luther*, but in a different manner. We have seen how *Luther* gave all to him, by absolutely taking all from man; and, on the other hand, the Church gave all to him, by holding for an effect of his grace all the good that man hath, and even the good use of his free-will in all that regards a Christian life. The novelty of *Luther's* doctrine and thoughts was a charm to the beaux Esprits. *Melancthon* was the chief of them in *Germany*. To erudition, to politeness, and to elegance of stile, he join'd a singular moderation. He was accounted the only person capable of succeeding, in erudition, to the reputation of *Erasmus*; and *Erasmus* himself by his own choice would have rais'd him to the first honours among the learned world, had he not seen him engaged in a party against the Church: but the stream of novelty bore him down with the crowd. From the first beginning of his attach to *Luther*, he wrote to one of his friends: *Not even as yet have I treated the matter of justification as it ought to be, and I am aware that none of the antients have hitherto treated it in this manner.* These words shew us a man smitten with the charms of the new doctrine: as yet he has but just touch'd so great a subject, and already knows more than all the antients. He is seen ravish'd at a sermon, which *Luther* made on the subject of the *Sabbath-day*. He there preach'd up that repose in which God did all, and man nothing. A young Professor of the *Greek* tongue heard such fine novelties laid forth by

by the most sprightly and vehement *Orator* of his age with all the ornaments of his native language and a prodigious applause; no wonder, he was transported. *Luther* seems to him the greatest of all men, a man sent by God, a *Prophet*. The unlook'd for success of the new *Reformation* confirms him in his thoughts. *Melancthon* was frank and credulous; good wits are often so; there he is caught. All the votaries of the belles lettres follow his example, and *Luther* becomes their Idol. He's attack'd, and per chance with too much acrimony. *Melancthon's* ardour inkindles; *Luther's* confidence engages him more and more, and he suffers himself to be drawn in, together with his master, by the temptation of *reforming Bishops, Popes, Princes, Kings, and Emperors*, even at the expence of *Unity and Peace*.

Luther, 'tistrue, was subject to unaccountable excesses: this was an occasion of grief to his moderate disciple. He trembled when ever he thought of the implacable wrath of *this Achilles*, and fear'd *nothing less from the old age of a man, whose passions were so violent, than the transports of a Hercules, a Philoctetes, and a Marius*; that is, he foresaw, what indeed happen'd, something furious. This he writes in confidence, and, as his custom was, in *Greek* to his friend *Camerarius*: but as with Wits a witty saying often has a great sway, a *bon mot* of *Erasmus* buoy'd him up. His saying was, that the so stubborn and obdurate world stood in need of a master as rough as *Luther*; that is, as he explain'd it to him, *Luther* seem'd necessary to the world, as *Tyrants* are whom God sends for its correction; as a *Nabuchadnezzar*, a *Holofernes*, in a word, as a scourge of God. There was nothing in this to glory in: but *Melancthon* had taken it on the bright side, and persuaded himself at the beginning, that, in order

III.

How *Melancthon* excused *Luther's* transports.

Lib. iv.

Ep. 240.

315.

L. xviii.

Ep. 25.

xix. 3.

to

IV.
The be-
ginning of
*Melan-
thon's* agi-
tations.

Lib. iv.

Ep. 100.

119. 842.

Lib. 11.

Ep. 202.

V.
*Melan-
thon* owns
at last that
Luther's
great suc-
cess pro-
ceeded
from a
bad Princi-
ple.

Lib. 1. Ep.
17.

to awaken the world, nothing less was requi-
site than the thunder and boisterous violence of
Luther.

But at length the arrogance of this imperious
master discover'd itself. The whole world rose up
against him, even those who were equally bent
on reforming of the Church. A thousand impious
sects lifted themselves under his banner; and co-
ver'd with the cloak of reformation, arms, sedi-
tions, civil wars laid waste *Christendom*. To in-
crease these disasters, the *Sacramentarian* quarrel
divided the new-born *Reformation* into two almost
equal parts. Yet *Luther* went on driving all to
extremes, and his discourses, instead of calming,
imbitter'd the minds of men. So much weakness
appear'd in his conduct, so strange his extrava-
gances, that *Melanthon* neither could excuse, nor
bear them. From that time his agitations were
exceeding great. Every moment he wish'd for
death. His tears dry'd not up in the space of
thirty years, and *the Elb*, said he himself, with
all its streams could not have furnished him water
enough to weep for the disasters of the distracted
Reformation.

The unhop'd for success of *Luther*, which at
first he was dazzled with, and look'd upon, with
all the rest, as a mark of the finger of God, was
but a weak relief to him, when time had open'd
his eyes, and discover'd the true causes of this
great progress and its deplorable effects. It was
not long before he perceived, that *licentiousness* and
independance had the greatest hand in the *Refor-*
mation. If the *Cities* of the *Empire* ran in crowds
to this new Gospel, 'twas not the doctrine they
cared for. Our reform'd will scarce brook these
words, but 'tis *Melanthon* who writes them, and
writes them to *Luther*: Our people blame me be-
cause I restore the jurisdiction to Bishops. The
people

people accusom'd to liberty, after once having shaken off the yoke, will not receive it again, and the imperial towns are the most averse to this authority. They concern not themselves for doctrine and religion, but only for power and liberty. He repeats this complaint again to the same Luther: Our associates, says he, do not dispute for the Gospel, but who shall govern. It was not doctrine therefore but independance these Towns were in quest of, and if they were averse to their Bishops, 'twas not so much because they were their Pastors, as because they were their sovereigns.

Ibid. 20.

To be plain; the re-establishment of the temporal power of Bishops was what Melancthon laid not much to heart: what he desired should be restored, was the Ecclesiastical government, the Spiritual jurisdiction, and, in a word, The Episcopal administration, because he saw, without that, all was falling into confusion. Would to God, would to God, I could confirm, not the sovereignty of Bishops, but restore the administration; for I see what sort of Churches we are like to have, if we overthrow the Ecclesiastical government. I see that

VI.

He foresees the disorders that were to arise from the contempt of Episcopal authority. Lib. iv. Ep. 104.

TYRANNY WILL BE MORE INSUPPORTABLE THAN EVER. This is what always happens, when the yoke of lawful authority is cast off. Those, who cause an insurrection under the colour of liberty, turn tyrants themselves; and if it be not sufficiently seen that Luther was of this number, the sequel will put it beyond all kind of doubt. Melancthon goes on, and after blaming those who loved not Luther, only because, thro' his means, they had rid themselves of the Bishops, he concludes, They had gain'd a liberty which would do posterity no good. For what will be, proceeds he, the state of the Church, if we change all the ancient customs, and there be no more Prelates nor certain guides?

Vol. I.

O

He

VII.

The authority of Ecclesiastical discipline wholly despised in the new Churches. The testimony of Capito and others.

Ep. ad Farel. int.

Ep. Calv. p. 5.

He foresees, in this disorder, each one will be for making himself master. If the *Ecclesiastical powers*, to whom the authority of the *Apostles* came by succession, be not acknowledged; how will the new ministers subsist, who have come into their places? We need but hear *Capito* speak, *Bucer's* co-partner in the ministry of the Church of *Strasburg*. The authority of the ministers, says he, is wholly abolish'd: all is lost, all goes to ruin. There is not one Church amongst us, not so much as one, where there's any discipline----- The people say boldly to us; you would fain tyrannize over the Church, which is free; you would fain set up a new Papacy. And a little after: God has given me to understand, what it is to be a Pastor, and the injury we have done the Church by our precipitated judgment, and the inconsiderate vehemence which made us reject the Pope. For the people accustomed to, and as it were bred up in licentiousness, have quite cast away the curb, as if by destroying the power of the Papists, we, at the same time, had destroy'd the whole force of the Sacraments and ministry. They loudly tell us, I know enough of the Gospel: what need have I of your help to find out Jesus Christ? Go, and preach to those that are disposed to hear you. What Babylon more confused than this Church, who bragg'd they had come forth from the Church of Rome as from a Babylon? Such was the Church of *Strasburg*, that Church which the new reform'd proposed to *Erasmus*, when he complain'd of their disorders, as the most orderly and the most modest of all their Churches. Such was this Church in 1537, that is, in her bloom and prime.

Int. Ep. Calv. p. 509, 510.

Bucer, the colleague of *Capito*, had no better opinion of it in 1549, and owns, that nothing had been there more sought after, Than the pleasure of living after their own fancy.

Another

Another minister complains to Calvin, that there was no order in their Churches, and gives this reason, *That a great number of their people* Int. Ep. *believed, they had withdrawn themselves from the* Calv. p. *power of Antichrist by revelling with the Church's* 43. *wealth as best pleased them, and by spurning at all discipline.* These are not such discourses as censure disorders with exaggeration. They are what new Pastors write to one another in confidence, and by them are seen the sad effects of the Reformation.

One of the fruits it produced, was the slavery the Church fell into. No wonder, if the new Reformation pleased the Princes and Magistrates, who there became masters of all, even doctrine itself. The first effect of the new Gospel in a neighbouring town to Geneva, Montbeliard, was an assembly there held by the principal inhabitants in order to know, *What the Prince would ordain concerning the Supper.* Calvin stands up in vain against this abuse: he has little hopes of a remedy: and all he can do is, to complain of it as the greatest disorder that can be brought into the Church. Mycon, Oecolampadius's successor in the ministry of Basil, makes the like complaint to as little purpose: *The Lay-men, says he, assume all to themselves, and the Magistrate has made himself Pope.* VIII. Another fruit of the Reformation. The servitude of the Church, wherein the Magistrates make themselves Popes. Calv. Ep. p. 50, 51, 52. Int. Ep. Calv. p. 52.

This was an unavoidable mischief in the new Reformation: they establish'd themselves by rising up against the Bishops by warrant from the Magistrates. The Magistrates suspended the Mass at Strasburg, abolish'd it in other places, and modell'd the divine service: the new Pastors were instituted by their authority; after that, it was but just, they should have the whole power in the Church. Thus, all that was gain'd in the new Reformation by rejecting the Pope, the ecclesiastical successor of St. Peter, was to give themselves a Lay Pope,

Pope, and put the authority of the *Apostles* into the hands of *Magistrates*.

IX.

Luther receives the Prince's mission to make the Ecclesiastical visitation.

Visit. Sax. c. de doct. c. de libert. Christ. &c.

Ibid. Præf.

Ibid.

Luther, as proud as he was of his new *Apostleship*, could not secure himself against so great a grievance. Sixteen years had elapsed since the settlement of his *Reformation* in *Saxony*, without ever thinking of visiting the *Churches*, even so much as to see, if the *Pastors*, they had put in place, did their duty, or, if the people knew at least their *Catechism*. They were taught mighty well, says *Luther*, *To eat flesh on Fridays and Saturdays; to lay aside Confession; to believe they were justified by Faith alone, and that good-works merited nothing*: but seriously to preach repentance, *Luther* well assures us, was the thing they least thought on. The reformers had quite other business. At last, to put some stop to this disorder, in 1538, they bethought themselves of the remedy of a *visitation* so recommended in the *Canons*. But not a man amongst us, says *Luther*, was as yet call'd to this ministry, and *St. Peter* forbids doing any thing in the *Church*, without being assured by a certain deputation, that what one does, is the work of *God*: that is in a word, a *mission*, a *vocation*, a *lawful authority* was necessary for that end. Observe, these new *Evangelists* were well assured of their extraordinary mission from above, to cause the people to rise up against their *Bishops*, to preach in spite of them, to take upon themselves the administration of the *Sacraments* contrary to their prohibition: but for the true *Episcopal* function, which is to visit and correct, not one of them had received the *vocation* nor *appointment* from *God*; so imperfect was this heavenly mission: so much those, who boasted of it, distrusted it in the main! The remedy found out against this defect, was to have recourse to the *Prince* as to a power undoubtedly ordain'd by *God* in this country.

So

So *Luther* speaks. But was this power of God's appointment, establish'd for this function? *Luther* owns it was not, and builds on this as a fundamental point, that visiting is an *Apostolick* function. Why then this recourse to the Prince? Because, says *Luther*, *altho' the secular power be not charged with this office, they will not fail, in charity, to name visitors*; and *Luther* exhorts the rest of the *Princes* to follow this example, that is, he would have the function of *Bishops* be exercised by the authority of *Princes*, and this attempt, in the language of the *Reformation*, is call'd *Charity*.

This account shews, the *Sacramentarians* were not the only people, who, destitute of lawful authority, had fill'd their Churches with confusion: *Capito*, 'tis true, after complaining, as we have seen, that discipline was unknown in the Churches of his sect, adds, *There was no discipline, except in the Lutheran Churches*. But *Melancthon*, who was acquainted with them, speaking of these Churches in 1532, and much about the time that *Capito* wrote his letter, relates, *That discipline was destroy'd amongst them, and they doubted of the weightiest matters: notwithstanding, no care would they take, any more than the rest, clearly to explain their tenets; and that these evils were incurable*: so that no advantage remains on the *Lutherans* side, unless that their discipline, such as it was, so much surpass'd that of the *Sacramentarians*, as to raise envy in them.

It is fitting we should also learn from *Melancthon*, in what manner the great men of the party treated *Divinity* and *Ecclesiastical discipline*. Confession of sins was but faintly spoken of among the *Lutherans*; and notwithstanding, the little that was said of it, and the small remains of Christian discipline they were still desirous of retaining, so

Ibid.

X.
The *Lutheran* Churches are not better disciplined, and *Melancthon* owns as much.

Int. Ep.
Calv. p. 5.
S. n. 7.
Lib. iv.
Ep. 135.

XI.
Melancthon bewails the licentiousness of the party, wherein the people,

at their
repasts,
decided
points of
Religion.
Lib. iv.
Ep. 71.

struck a man of consequence, that, as *Melancthon* reports, he declared at a great *Banquet* (for *there only*, says he, *they treat Divinity*) That *they ought to stand up against it; that it behoved them all to be upon the watch, lest THAT LIBERTY THEY HAD RECOVER'D should be taken from them; otherwise, they should be yolk'd again under a new slavery, and that already, by little and little, the ancient traditions were renewing.* This it is to stir up the spirit of *rebellion* amongst the people, and indiscreetly inspire them with the hatred of *Traditions*. We have in one banquet a representation of what was done in the rest. This spirit prevailed amongst all the people; and *Melancthon* himself says to his friend *Camerarius*, speaking of these new *Churches*, *you see the transports of the multitude and their blind desires: no regularity could be settled amongst them.*

Ibid. 769.

XII.
Imputed
justice di-
minish'd
the necessi-
ty of good-
works.
The decisi-
on of the
Lutherans
and *Me-*
lancthon.

In this manner the true *Reformation*, namely of manners, went backwards instead of advancing; and this for two reasons: one, because *authority* was destroy'd; the other, because the new doctrine inclined to laxity.

I take not in hand to prove, that the new *justification* had this bad effect: 'tis a trite subject, and not to my purpose. I shall speak only of these notorious facts; that, after the setting up of *imputed justice*, the doctrine of *good-works* flagg'd so much; that some of *Luthers's* chief disciples said, it was a *blasphemy* to teach they were *necessary*. Others went so far as to say, they were contrary to *salvation*; all agreed in deciding, they were not *necessary* to it. 'Tis allowable to say in the new *Reformation*, that good-works are *necessary* as things which God requires from man: but they may not say, they are *necessary* to *salvation*. And why then does God require them? Is it not to the end one may be saved? has not *Jesus Christ* him-

self

self said, *If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments?* 'Tis therefore precisely for obtaining life and eternal *salvation*, that good-works are necessary according to the *Gospel*, and 'tis what the whole *Scripture* preaches to us: but the new *Reformation* has found out this subtile distinction, that one may without difficulty allow them *necessary*, provided it be not for *salvation*.

Matth.
xix. 17.

The question was concerning the adult, for as to little children, all men were agreed. Who would have believed, the new *Reformation* was to bring forth such a prodigy, and that this proposition, *good-works are necessary to salvation*, should ever have been condemn'd? It was by *Melancthon* and all the *Lutherans*, in many of their *Conventions*, and particularly that of *Wormes* in 1557, whose acts we shall see in due time.

Mel. Ep.
lib. 1. 70.
Col. 84.

I mean not here to reproach our *Protestants* with their evil manners: our own, to look at them in the greatest part of men, shew not better; but only, to disabuse them of the notion that their *Reformation* was attended with the fruits that might be expected from so fine a name, or that their new *justification* had produced one good effect.

XIII.
No reformation of manners in the Protestant Churches: the testimony of *Erasmus.*
Ep. p. 818.
822. lib.
xix. Ep. 3.
xxxi. 47.
p. 2053.
&c.

Erasmus frequently said, that of such numbers of men as he had seen embrace the new *Reformation* (and he maintain'd an intimate familiarity with most of their chiefs) he had not seen so much as one, it had not made worse, so far it was from making them better. What an *Evangelical* generation is this, said he? nothing was ever seen more *licentious*, and withal more *sedition*; nothing infine less *Evangelical* than these pretended *Evangelicks*; they abrogate vigils and the divine service of the night and day. Those, said they, were *Pharisaical superstitions*; but then,

Lib. vi. 4.
xviii. 6.
24. 49.
xix. 3. 4.
113. xxi.
3. xxxi.
47. 59.
&c.

they should have put something better in their stead, and not turn *Epicureans* to fly from *Judaism*. All is over-done in this *Reformation*. They root up what only should have been weeded; they put fire to the house to destroy the cob-webs. Manners are neglected; luxury, debauchery, adulteries, increase more than ever; there is no order, no discipline among them. The untoward people, after casting off the yoke of their superiors, will yield belief to none; and, in so disordinate a licentiousness, *Luther* will soon have reason to regret what he calls the *Tyranny of Bishops*. When he wrote after this manner to his Protestant friends concerning the unhappy fruits of their reformation, they candidly agreed with him. *I had much rather*, said he to them, *have to do with those Papists you decry so much*. He upbraids them with the malice of *Capito*, the spiteful back-biting of *Farel*, whom *Oecolampadius*, at whose table he eat, could neither suffer nor restrain; with the arrogance and violences of *Zwinglius*, and lastly, with those of *Luther*, who sometimes seem'd to speak like the *Apostles*, and at others, abandon'd himself to such strange excesses, and such vile scurrility, that it was plainly seen, the Apostolick air he affected at times, could not proceed from his own bottom. The rest he was acquainted with, were no better-worth. I find, said he, more piety in one good *Catbolick Bishop* than in all these new *Evangelists*. What he said, was not in flattery to *Catbolicks*, whose disorders he impeach'd with sufficient freedom. But besides that he disliked of their crying up so loudly their *Reformation*, without any superior merit of their own, he judg'd, there was a wide difference to be made betwixt those, who neglected good-works through weakness, and those, who lessen'd their necessity, and dignity, by maxims.

But

Lib. xix.
2. xxx.
62.

Lib. xix.

Lib. xxxi.
Ep. 59.
Col. 2118.

But here is a testimony, which will bear much harder upon *Protestants*: 'tis that of *Bucer*. In 1542, and more than twenty years after the *Reformation*, this minister writes to *Calvin*, that among them, THE MOST EVANGELICK did not so much as know *What true repentance was*: so much had they abused the name of *Reformation* and *Gospel*. We have just heard as much from the mouth of *Luther*. Five years after this letter of *Bucer's*, and in the midst of the victories of *Charles V.* *Bucer* writes again to the same *Calvin*: *God has punish'd the injury we have done to his name by our so long and most pernicious hypocrisy*. This was giving a proper name enough to licentiousness mask'd with the title of *Reformation*. In 1549, he sets forth, in stronger terms, the little fruit of the pretended *Reformation*, when he writes again to *Calvin*: *Our people have passed from the hypocrisy so deep-rooted in the Papacy to a profession, such as it is, of Jesus Christ; and there is but a very small number that have wholly departed from this hypocrisy*. Now he certainly seeks for a subject of quarrelling, and endeavours to bring in the *Church of Rome* guilty of that hypocrisy he own'd in his own party: for if by the *Roman hypocrisy*, according to the stile of the *Reformation*, he means the watchings, the abstinence, the devotions perform'd in honour of Saints, and such like practices; it was impossible for the *new-reform'd* to be more come off from these, than they then were, having all of them passed to the opposite extreme: but as the ground of piety consisted not in these external things, it consisted less in abolishing of them: if it were the opinion of *merits*, that *Bucer* here calls our *hypocrisy*, this also was an evil the *Reformation* was but too well reclaim'd from, who had taken away even that *merit*, which is the gift of grace, altho'

the

XIV.
The testi-
mony of
Bucer.
Int. Ep.
Cal. p.
54.

Visit. Sax.
c. de doc.
c. de lib.
Chr. &c.
S. n. 9.
Int. Ep.
Calv. p.
100.

Ibid. 509.
510.

the force of truth made them sometimes acknowledge it. Be that as it will, the *Reformation* had prevail'd so little against *hypocrisy*, that very few, according to *Bucer*, had quitted so great an evil. For which reason, proceeds he, Our people took more pains to appear disciples of *Jesus Christ*, than to be so truly; and when the appearing so prejudiced their interests, they laid aside even this appearance. The thing that pleased them was, the departing from the tyranny and superstitions of the Pope, AND LIVING AFTER THEIR OWN FANCY. And a little after: Our people, says he, would never receive sincerely the laws of *Jesus Christ*: neither have they had the courage to enforce those laws against others, with a christian constancy ---- As long as they believed they had the arm of flesh to back them, they commonly return'd pretty vigorous answers: but when this arm of flesh was broken, and they had no longer any human succours; they thought no more of them.

Doubtless, the true *Reformation* hitherto, I mean that of manners, had but weak foundations in the pretended *Reformation*, and the work of God so much boasted of, and so much desired, was neglected by them.

XV.
The insupportable
tyranny of
Luther:
what *Calvin* wrote
to *Melancthon*.

What *Melancthon* had most hoped for in *Luther's Reformation*, was christian liberty and a release from the yoke of man: but he found himself much disappointed in his hopes. For almost fifty years together he beheld the *Lutheran Church* always under tyranny, or in confusion. She long bore the punishment drawn upon herself by despising lawful authority. Never was there master more severe than *Luther*, nor a more insupportable Tyranny than what he exercised in points of doctrine. His arrogance was so well known, as made *Muncer* say, there were two *Popes*, that of *Rome*, and *Luther*; but this last, the most grievous.

vous. Had it been only *Muncer*, a *Fanatick* and a ringleader of the *Fanaticks*, *Melancthon* might have comforted himself; but *Zuinglius*, but *Calvin*, but all the *Swiss* and all the *Sacramentarians*, men not at all despicable to *Melancthon*, said loudly, without his being able to contradict them, that *Luther* was another *Pope*. None are ignorant of what *Calvin* wrote to his friend *Bullinger*: *That there was no longer enduring Luther's transports, whose self-love would not suffer him to see his own defects, nor bear with being contradicted.* Ep. p. 526. Here doctrine was the thing in question, and 'twas principally in doctrine that *Luther* would give himself so absolute an authority. It went so far, that *Calvin* complain'd to *Melancthon* himself: *With what passion, says he, does your Pericles deal about his thunder?* Calv. Ep. ad Mel. p. 72. So was *Luther* call'd when they had a mind to give a fine name to his too violent eloquence. *We owe much to him, I own, and will readily allow him a very great authority, provided he knows how to govern himself: tho' high time it now is, to bethink ourselves, how much deference ought, in the Church, to be given to men. All is lost when one alone has more power than all the rest, particularly if he fears not to use the full extent of his power. And certainly, we leave a strange example to posterity, whilst we had rather give up our liberty, than, by the least offence, provoke one single man. His temper, you'll say, is violent and his motions impetuous; as if his violence did not greatly increase by all the world's thinking of nothing but how to please him in every thing. Let us for once dare to fetch one free sigh.*

How much is man a captive, when he may not sigh with freedom? A man at times, I own, may be out of humour, tho' one of the first and least effects of vertue, is to overcome himself in this inequality of temper: but what hopes are there

there when a man, and a man even that hath no more authority, nor, perchance, more learning than the rest, will give ear to nothing, and his word must be a law?

XVI.
Melan-
thon, tyranniz'd over by *Luther*, thinks of retiring.

Cam. in.
wit. Phil.
Mel.
Peuc. Ep.
ad Vit.
Theod.
Hosp. p. 2.
f. 193. &
seq.
Mel. L. iv.
Ep. 315.

Lib. iv.
255.

Melanethon could make no reply to such just complaints, nor did he himself think otherwise than the rest. Those, who lived with *Luther*, never knew, in what manner, this rigorous master would take their sentiments in point of doctrine. He threatned them with new *formularies* of *Faith*, chiefly with relation to the *Sacramentarians*, whose pride *Melanethon* was accused of fomenting by his meekness. This pretext was made use of to incense *Luther* against him, as his friend *Camerarius* writes in his life: *Melanethon* knew no remedy for these evils, but that of flight, and his son-in-law *Bucer* acquaints us, that he was resolved upon it. He writes himself, that *Luther* flew into such a passion against him, upon account of a letter received from *Bucer*, that he thought of nothing but for ever withdrawing from his presence. He lived under such constraint with *Luther*, and with the heads of the party, and they so over-burden'd him with labour and disquiet, that quite worn-out, he wrote to his friend *Camerarius*: *I am, says he, in slavery as one in the Cyclop's den; for I cannot disguise my thoughts to you, and often think of betaking my self to flight.* *Luther* was not the only one, that so inthrall'd him: every one is master, at certain times, among those who have withdrawn themselves from lawful authority, and the most moderate man always is the greatest slave.

XVII.
He passes his whole life without ever daring to

When one hath enter'd into a party to speak his mind with freedom, and this deceitful lure has made him renounce the establish'd government; if afterwards he find the yoke grow heavier, and not only the master he has chosen, but even his

his companions keep him more in subjection than before; what has he not to suffer, and can we wonder at the continual lamentations of *Melancthon*? No, *Melancthon* never spoke his full sentiments with relation to doctrine, not even when, at *Ausburg*, he wrote his *Confession of Faith* and that of all the party. We have seen how he fitted *his Dogmata to the occasion*: he was ready to say many milder things, that is, more approaching the tenets received by Catholics, *Would his companions have suffer'd him*. Confined on all sides, but more by *Luther* than any other, he never dares to speak, and reserves himself for better times, if such happen, says he, as may be proper for the designs I have in mind. This is what he writes in 1537, in the assembly of *Smalkald*, where the articles, above spoken of were made. Five years after, and in 1542, we find him again signing after a free *Convention* of the whole party, where *Doctrine* may be explain'd in a firm and precise manner. Again after this, and towards the latter end of his life, he writes to *Calvin* and *Bullinger*, that some were going to write against him upon the subject of the *Eucharist* and adoration of Bread: the *Lutherans* were to be the authors of this book: *If they publish it*, said he, *I will speak freely*. But these better times, these times of speaking freely and declaring, without fear, what he call'd truth, never came for him; nor was he deceived when he said, that, *Let matters turn out as they would, never should they have the liberty of speaking freely on points of doctrine*. When *Calvin* and others encourage him to utter his mind, he always answers like a man, that is obliged to great caution, and waits for an opportunity to explain himself on certain matters, which notwithstanding he never perform'd: so that one of the chief Teachers of the new *Reformation*, and he, who

explain his doctrine thoroughly.

S. Lib.

111. n.

59.

Lib. iv.

Ep. 204.

Lib. 1. Ep.

110. Col.

147.

Ep. Mel.

inter

Calv. Ep.

p. 218.

236.

Lib. iv.

Ep. 136.

Ep. Mel.

Int. Calv.

Ep. p. 199.

Calv. resp.

211.

who may be said to have given *Lutheranism* its form, died without fully explaining himself on the most important controversies of his time.

XVIII.
New ty-
ranny in
the Lu-
theran
Churches
after that
of Luther.

Mel. Ep.
ad Calv.
inter. Cal.
Ep. p.
144.
Lib. iv.
Ep. 836.
842. 845.

Ibid. &
lib. 1. Ep.
107. iv.
76. 876.
&c.

XIX.
Melanc-
thon knows
not where
he is, and
his whole
life long is
in search
after Reli-
gion.

The reason was, while *Luther* lived, he was obliged to silence. After his death, they were not more free. Other *Tyrants* took his place. These were *Illyricus*, and the other leaders of the people. The unhappy *Melancthon* looks upon himself, among the *Lutherans* his colleagues, as in the midst of enemies; or, to use his own words, in the midst of furious wasps, and has *No hopes of meeting with sincerity, unless it be in heaven*. I wish it were allow'd me to employ the word *Demagogue*, which he makes use of. Those were certain orators in *Athens* and the popular states of *Greece*, that became all-powerful, with the people, by flattering them. The *Lutheran Churches* were headed by such talkative persons: *Ignorant men*, so speaks *Melancthon*, *who were both strangers to piety and discipline*. Such, says he, *are they, who bear sway; and I am like to Daniel amongst the lions*. This is the picture he gives us of the *Lutheran Churches*. They had already fallen into an *Anarchy*, that is, as he says himself, *Into a state, that at once involves all evils*: he wishes for death, and sees no hope but in him, who has promised to uphold his *Church*, *even in her old age, and to the world's end*. Happy, could he have perceived, that he does not therefore ever fail actually to uphold her!

That should have been the fixed conclusion; and since he was obliged, after all, to return to the *promises* made to the *Church*, *Melancthon* needed but to have consider'd, that they ought to have been as unshaken in ages past, as he was willing to believe, they were to be in ages following the *Reformation*. The *Lutheran Church* had no particular assurance of her eternal duration,

nor

nor ought the *Reformation*, made by *Luther*, to remain more firm, than the first institution made by *Jesus Christ* and his *Apostles*. How was it possible for *Melancthon* not to see, that the *Reformation*, whose Faith he was for changing every day, was but the work of man? We have seen how he changed, and changed again many important articles of the *Ausburg-Confession*, even after it was presented to the *Emperor*. He also cut off from the *Apology* many things of importance, at different times, altho' it had been subscribed by the whole party, with as much submission as the *Confession* of *Ausburg*. In 1532, since the *Ausburg-Confession* and *Apology*, he wrote again, *That most important points remain undecided, and that they ought, without noise, to seek for means whereby to explain their Dogmata*. How much, says he, do I wish this to be done, and done well! Like a man that knew in his conscience, nothing hitherto had been done as it ought. In 1533. *Who is there*, says he, *that so much as thinks of healing consciences agitated with doubts, and of discovering truth?* In 1535. How much, says he, do we deserve to be blamed, we that take no manner of care to heal consciences agitated with doubts, nor to explain the points of doctrine purely and simply without sophistry? these things torment me terribly. He wishes in the same year, *That a pious assembly would determine the Eucharistick contest without sophistry, and without tyranny*. He holds then the thing for undecided, and five or six manners of explaining this article, which we have found in the *Ausburg-Confession* and *Apology*, have not satisfied him. In 1536, accused of raising still many doubts in the doctrine he made profession of, he answers at once, that it was immoveable, for so it was necessary he should speak, or forsake the cause. But immediately after he gives to understand,

V. S. Lib.
111. n. 5.
& seq. 23.
24. 27.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 135.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 140.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 170.

Lib. 111.
Ep. 114.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 194.

stand, that indeed many flaws remain'd therein: and it must not be forgotten that he speaks of doctrine. *Melancthon* imputes these defects to the vices and stubbornness of *Ecclesiasticks*, by whose means it has happen'd, says he, that among us, things have been left to go as they could, to say nothing worse; that we have fallen into many faults, and, at the beginning, have done many things without reason. He owns the disorder; and the vain excuse he seeks, by flinging the defects of his own Religion upon the *Catholick Church*, does not hide them. He was no further advanced in 1537, and whilst all the Doctors of the party, assembled with *Luther* at *Smalkald*, there explain'd anew the points of doctrine, or rather, there subscribed to *Luther's* decisions: I was of opinion, says he, that rejecting some paradoxes, they should explain doctrine more simply; and altho' he subscribed, as we have seen, these decisions, he was so little satisfied therewith, that

Lib. iv. Ep. 98. in 1542, we have heard him still wish for another assembly, where the Dogmata might be explain'd in a firm and precise manner. Three years after, and in 1545, he acknowledges still, that truth had but very imperfectly been discover'd to the

Lib. iv. Ep. 662. Preachers of the new Gospel: I beseech God, says he, to prosper this glimmering of doctrine, such as he has discover'd to us. He declares, that as to himself, he has done all that was in his power: the will, says he, was not wanting to me, but time, guides, and doctors. How? was his master *Luther* then wanting to him, the man he had believed was rais'd by God to dispel the darkness the world lay under? Without doubt, he depended but little on the doctrine of such a master, when he so bitterly laments the want of a Doctor. And indeed, after *Luther's* decease, *Melancthon*, who in so many places so highly extols him,

writing

writing in confidence to his friend *Camerarius*, contents himself with saying coldly enough, that *He* *Ibid.* 699.
bad at least well explain'd some part of the heavenly
doctrine. A little after, he confesses, *That he and* *Ibid.* Ep.
the rest fell into many errors, which they could not 737.
avoid, upon coming forth from so much darkness,
 and is satisfied with saying, that *Many things*
have been well explain'd; which agreed perfectly
 with the desire he had, that the rest should be
 better explain'd. We see in all the above passa-
 ges, that the *Dogmata of Faith* were the thing in
 question, since *decisions* and *new decrees* on doc-
 trine are there spoken of in every place. Men, if
 they please, may now wonder at those they call
Seekers in *England*. Here's *Melancthon* himself,
 who still seeks for many articles of his *Religion*,
 forty years after *Luther's* preaching, and the esta-
 blishment of his *Reformation*.

If it be ask'd, what were those points of doc- *XX.*
 trine *Melancthon* pretended were ill-expounded; *What*
 it is certain, they were the most important ones. *were the*
 That of the *Eucharist* was in the number. In *Dogmata*
 1553, after all the changes of the *Ausburg-Con-* *Melancthon*
fession, after the explanations of the *Apology*, after *judg'd*
 the articles of *Smalkald* which he had sign'd, he *were ill-ex-*
 still demands *a new formulary for the Supper.* *plain'd.*
 'Tis not well known what he had a mind to put *Lib.* II.
 into this new formulary, it appearing only that *Ep.* 447.
 neither those of his own, nor those of the opposite
 party, pleased him, since he says, that both the one
 and the other did nothing *but obscure the subject.* *Ibid.*

Another article, which he wish'd might be de-
 cided, was that of *Free-will*, whose consequences
 so greatly influence the subjects of *Justification*
 and *Grace*. In 1548, he writes to *Thomas Cranmer*,
 that Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who utterly ruin'd *Lib.* III.
 the King his master by his too great compliance: *ib.* Ep. 42.
Ever since the beginning, says he, *the doctrines, that*
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have been advanced amongst us on free-will agreeable to the opinion of the Stoicks, were too harsh, and we must think of making some new formulary on this head. That of the *Ausburg-Confession*, tho' he himself had drawn it up, no longer pleased him: he began to be of this sentiment, that free-will did not only act in the duties of civil life, but moreover in the operations of *Grace*, and by its assistance. These were not the notions he had received from *Luther*, nor what *Melancthon* himself had explain'd at *Ausburg*. This doctrine raised him up gain-sayers among the *Protestants*. He prepared himself for a vigorous defence, when he wrote to a friend: *If they publish their Stoical disputes (touching fatal necessity, and against free-will) I shall answer very gravely and very learnedly.* Thus, in the midst of his misfortunes, he is pleased with the thoughts of writing a fine work, and persists in his belief, which the sequel will discover to us more at large.

Lib. II.
Ep. 200.

XXI.
Melancthon declares that he abides by the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, at the time he is thinking of reforming it.

Lib. I. 56.
70. 76.

One might instance in other points, which *Melancthon* wish'd to see decided a great while after the *Confession* of *Ausburg*. But what appears more strange is, that whilst he, who had made it, found in his conscience, and own'd to his friends, the necessity of reforming it in so many important articles, he himself, in the publick assemblies then held, never forbore to declare with all the rest, that he stuck precisely to this *Confession*, such as it was presented at the *Diet* of *Ausburg*, and to the *Apology*, as to the pure exposition of *God's* word. Policy required this; and it would have too much discredited the *Reformation*, to own it had err'd in its foundation.

What peace could *Melancthon* have during these uncertainties? The worst was, they arose from the very grounds, and, as I may say, from the constitution of his *Church*, in which there was no regular

regular power, no legitimate authority. Usurp'd authority has nothing uniform; it binds or slackens without a mean. Thus, *Tyranny* and *Anarchy* are felt in it alternately, nor is it known who should be apply'd to for settling matters in a steady frame.

So essential, and withal, so inevitable a defect in the *constitution* of the new *Reformation*, gave extreme trouble to the miserable *Melancthon*. If any questions arose, there was no means of terminating them. The most certain *Traditions* were despised. The *Scripture* was wrested and forced by whoever had a mind. All parties believed they understood it; they all publish'd, it was clear. Not a man would yield to his companion. *Melancthon* call'd out in vain for an assembly to finish the *Eucharistick* debate, which tore in pieces the new-born *Reformation*. *Conferences*, they call'd amicable, had nothing but the name, and served only to exasperate mens minds, and perplex the cause: a juridical assembly was requisite, a *Council* with power to determine, which all the people would submit to. But where was this to be had in the new *Reformation*? The remembrance of the despised *Bishops* was then too recent: the particular men, that had possess'd themselves of their places, could not assume to themselves a more inviolable character. And indeed both sides, *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, were for having their mission judged of by the merits of the cause. He, that spoke *truth*, had, according to them, *true mission*. The difficulty was to know, who spoke this *truth* every body challenged to himself the honour of, and all those, who made their *mission* depend on this examination, made it doubtful. The *Catholick Bishops* had a certain title, and their vocation only was incontestable. 'Twas said, they did abuse it, nor was it denied

XXII.

These uncertainties proceeded from the constitution of the Protestant Churches.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 196.

but they had. Hereupon *Melancthon* was always for acknowledging them: maintain'd always, they were in the wrong to *yield nothing to the sacred order*. If their authority were not set up again, he foresaw, with a lively and inconsolable grief, that *Discord would have no end, and would be attended with ignorance, barbarity, and all kind of evils*.

XXIII.
The authority of the Church absolutely necessary in matters of Faith.

'Tis a mighty easy thing to say, as do our reform'd, that they have an *extraordinary* vocation; that the *Church*, like kingdoms, is not tied to a settled succession; and matters of *Religion* ought not to be judged in the same form that causes are at *Tribunals*. Conscience, say they, is the true *Tribunal*, where each one is to judge matters as they are in themselves, and hear truth from his own self: these things, I repeat it, are very easily said. *Melancthon* said them like the rest; but, in his conscience, was very sensible, some other foundation was necessary to build the *Church* upon. For in reality, why should she be less orderly than *Empires*? Why should she not have a *lawful succession* in her *Magistrates*? Ought a gate to be left open to whosoever would say, he was sent from God; or the faithful always be obliged to sift the bottom of the cause, notwithstanding the incapacity of the greatest part of men? Such reasonings may pass well enough in dispute: but when an affair is to be concluded, the *Church's* peace to be settled, and a true repose, free from prevention, to be given to mens consciencies, we must fly to other means. Do what we will, we must come back to *authority*, which is never sure, no more than lawful, when coming from nothing higher, it's bottom'd on itself. 'Tis for this reason *Melancthon* was for owning the *Bishops*, whom *succession* had establish'd, and saw no other remedy for the *Church's* grievances.

The

The way he delivers his sense of this matter, in one of his letters, is admirable. *Our people are agreed, that Ecclesiastical polity, by which Bishops are allow'd the Superiors of many Churches, and the Bishop of Rome superior to all Bishops, is allowable. It was also allowable for Kings to endow Churches with revenues: so there is no dispute about the superiority of the Pope, and the authority of Bishops; and the Pope, as well as the Bishops, may easily retain this authority: for guides are necessary for the Church to keep up order, to have an eye over those who are call'd to the Church-ministry, and over the doctrine of Priests, and to exercise Ecclesiastical judgments: insomuch that, if there were not such Bishops, 'TWOULD BE NECESSARY TO MAKE THEM. THE POPE'S MONARCHY would also be of great use to preserve the agreement of doctrine betwixt sundry nations: thus THE SUPERIORITY OF THE POPE might easily be adjusted, were we but agreed in all the rest, and Kings themselves might easily moderate the attempts of Popes on the temporalities of their kingdoms. This was what Melancthon thought of the authority of the Pope and Bishops. The whole party was of the same mind, when he wrote this letter: our people, says he, are agreed: far from looking upon the authority of Bishops, with the superiority and MONARCHY of the Pope, as a mark of the Antichristian Empire, he held it for a thing desirable, and which ought to be establish'd, were it not on foot. 'Tis true, he added this condition, that Ecclesiastical powers should not oppress sound doctrine; but if it may be allowable to say, they do oppress it, and, under this pretext, refuse the obedience due to them, they fall again into the difficulty they seek to shun, and the Ecclesiastical authority becomes a mock-authority, for all that will to contradict.*

XXIV.
Melancthon's sentiments on the necessity of acknowledging the Pope and Bishops.
Resp. ad Bell.

XXV.
Melancthon, in
 the assembly of
Smalkald,
 is of opinion that
 they should own the
 Council call'd by
 the Pope,
 and why.

'Twas for this reason that *Melancthon* always sought for a remedy to so great an evil. It was not certainly his design that the disunion should remain for ever. *Luther* submitted to the Council at the time *Melancthon* embraced his doctrine. The whole party press'd its convocation, and *Melancthon* hoped from it the finishing of the *Schism*, without which, I dare presume, he never would have engaged in it. But after the first step, men venture further than they once design'd. To the demand of a Council the *Protestants* added, they demanded it *free, pious and christian*. The demand is just, *Melancthon* comes into it: but such fine words conceal'd a great and cunning artifice. By the name of a *free Council* they explain'd their meaning to be, such a Council as the Pope and all those, who profess'd submission to him, should be excluded from. These, said they, were interested persons: the Pope was the guilty party, the *Bishops* were his slaves: they ought not to be Judges. Who then should hold the Council? The *Lutherans*? meer private men, or *Priests* in rebellion against their *Bishops*? What an example to posterity! And again, were not they likewise interested? were not they held for guilty by *Catholicks*, who, beyond doubt, made the greatest, not to say the best part of *Christendom*? What! to have indifferent Judges! should then *Turks* and *Heathens* be appeal'd to, or ought God to send us Angels? And needed there any more than accusing all the *Magistrates* of the Church, in order to deprive them of their power and render judgment impossible? *Melancthon* had too much sense not to see this was but an illusion. What can he do? Himself shall inform us. In 1537, when the *Lutherans* were assembled at *Smalkald*, in order to find out what was best to be done with relation to the Council, *Paul III* had summon'd

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 XXXVII.

at *Mantua*, it was said, the *Pope* ought not to be allow'd the authority of forming a convention, in which himself was to be accused, nor should a *Council*, so procured, be approved by them. But *Melancthon* could not come into this; *My opinion* was, says he, *not to refuse the Council absolutely, because, altho' the Pope cannot be judge therein, nevertheless, he has the right of calling it together, and the Council must order the proceeding on to judgment.* Here he immediately owns the *Council*, and what is still more remarkable, the whole world allow'd he had, in the main, reason on his side. *Melancthon*, more acute than myself, proceeds he, said, that my reasons were subtle and TRUE, but useless; that the *Pope's* tyranny was such, that if we once consented to be present at the *Council*, it would be understood, that we thereby granted to the *Pope* the power of judging. I very well saw, there was some difficulty in my opinion, but, after all, it was the most honest. The other carried it after great disputes, and I believe there is in this somewhat of fatality.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 196.

This is commonly said, when one knows not what to say. *Melancthon* seeks for an end to the *Schism*, and for want of comprehending truth whole and intire, what he says is not consistent. On one side, he was sensible what good a *confessed authority* does the *Church*: he well saw, among so many dissensions, therein arising, that a principal authority was there requisite to maintain unity, nor could he place this authority any where but in the *Pope*. On the other side, he would not have him to be Judge in the impeachment the *Lutherans* brought against him. Thus, he grants him the authority of calling the assembly, and, after that, will have him be excluded from it: an odd opinion I confess. But for all this, *Melancthon* ought not to be deem'd a person little

XXVI.
When certain principles are destroy'd, all we do is unwarrantable and contradictory.

skilful in these matters: he was not so reputed by his own party, the only person, I may say it, they could glory in, and by none among them surpass'd in sense or erudition. If he proposes things contradictory, 'twas because the new *Reformation* allow'd him nothing that was consonant, or of a piece. He was in the right to say, it belong'd to the *Pope* to call the *Council*, for who else should call it, particularly in the present state of *Christianity*? Was there any other power, besides that of the *Pope*, which the whole world acknowledged? And to deprive him of it, at once, before the assembly, in which they said they design'd to accuse him; was not this too unjust a prejudice? Above all, when the matter in debate was no personal crime of the *Pope*, but the doctrine which he had received from his *predecessors* so many ages ago, and to him was common with all the *Bishops* of the *Church*? These reasons were so solid, that the rest of the *Lutherans*, opponents to *Melancthon*, own'd them, as he himself has just told us, *to be true*. But those, who acknowledged this truth, nevertheless maintain'd, and with reason at the same time, that, if they granted to the *Pope* the power of forming the assembly, they could no longer exclude him from it. The *Bishops*, who ever acknowledged him for the chief of their order, and saw themselves in Body synodical conven'd by this authority, would they suffer their assembly to begin with dispossessing a natural *President* for a cause common to them all? and would they set an example unheard of in all ages past? These things tallied not together; and in this conflict of the *Lutherans* it appear'd manifestly, that, after certain principles are overthrown, whatever insues thereupon is unwarrantable and contradictory.

If they persisted in refusing the *Council*, which the Pope had summon'd, *Melancthon* had no further hopes of putting an end to the *Schism*; and it was on this occasion he spoke the words above-cited, *That discord would be everlasting*, consequently to their rejecting the authority of the *sacred order*. Afflicted for so great an evil he pursues his point, and altho' the opinion, he had moved in behalf of the *Pope*, or rather for the *unity* of the *Church*, in the *Smalkaldick* assembly, was there slighted, he made his own subscription in the above form with a proviso for the *Pope's authority*.

XXVII.
Reasons
for the re-
striction,
which *Me-
lancthon*
put to his
subscription
in the
articles of
Smalkald.
Ib. Ep.
196.
S. n. 22.

The weighty causes, which obliged him to it, and his reasons for granting the *Pope* a superiority over the *Bishops*, are now seen. Peace, which both reason and the experience of the dispositions in his own sect, made him account for impossible without this means, forced him, in spite of *Luther*, upon so necessary an expedient. His conscience for this bout prevail'd over his complaisance, and he added only, that he gave the *Pope* a superiority of *human right*: unhappy! in not seeing that a *Primacy*, which experience shew'd him to be so necessary for the *Church*, well deserved to have been instituted by *Jesus Christ*; nay further, what is found establish'd in all ages, could proceed from none but him!

Surprising were the sentiments he had regarding the *authority* of the *Church*: for altho', like other *Protestants*, he would not own the *Church's infallibility* in disputes, lest, said he, too great a prerogative should be given to men; the inward dictates of his mind carried him still further: he frequently repeated, that *Jesus Christ* had promised his *Church* to up-hold her everlastingly; that he had promised, his *work*, that is his *Church*, should never be dissipated, nor abolish'd; and therefore to ground himself on the *Church's faith*, was

XXVIII.
Melancthon's
words con-
cerning the
authority
of the
Church.
Lib. 1. Ep.
107. iv.
76. 733.
845. 876.
&c.

to

Lib. III. to ground himself, not on men, but on the promise
 Ep. 44. of *Jesus Christ* himself. This even made him say,
 Lib. I. Ep. *Sooner may the earth open under my feet, than it be-*
 67. 105. *fall me to depart from the sentiment of the Church,*
 Lib. II. *wherein Christ Jesus does reign.* And in other
 Ep. 159. places, a hundred times: *Let the Church judge, I*
 &c. *submit myself to the judgment of the Church.* The truth
 is, that *Faith*, which he had in the promise, stag-
 ger'd frequently; and once, after he had said accor-
 ding to the sentiments of his heart, *I submit myself to*
 Lib. I. *the Catholick Church*, he adds, *that is to say, to good*
 109. *men, and to learned men.* This his restriction, I own,
 destroy'd the whole, and it is easily seen what that
 submission was, which, under the name of *good*
men, and learned men, owns none at the bottom
 but such as he pleases: for which reason, he was
 always for coming to a fixed character, an avow'd
 authority, the which was that of the *Bishops*.

XXIX. If it be now ask'd, how it came to pass, that
 a man so desirous of peace did not seek it in the
Church, but remain'd separated from the sacred
 order he was so bent upon establishing, it is easily
 answer'd: 'twas chiefly because he could never
 come off from his *imputed justice*. God, notwith-
 standing, had given him great graces, since he
 had the knowledge of two truths capable of re-
 claiming him: one, that a doctrine not found in
antiquity, ought not to be follow'd: *Consult*, said
 he to *Brentius*, *with the ancient Church*. And
 again: *Opinions unknown to the ancient Church are*
not to be received. The other truth, that his doc-
 trine of *imputed justice* was not to be met with in
 the *Fathers*. As soon as he began to set about ex-
 plaining it, we have hear'd him say, *He found*
nothing like it in their writings. Nevertheless, he
 thought fit to say, in the *Ausburg-Confession* and
Apology, that nothing was advanced therein, but
 was conformable to their doctrine. Above all,
 St.

Melanc-
 thon can't
 depart
 from the
 opinion of
 imputed
 justice,
 what ever
 grace God
 bestows on
 him for
 his return.
 Two
 truths ac-
 know-
 ledged by
 him.

Lib. III.
 Ep. 114.
 Mel. de
 Eccl. Cath.
 ap. Lut.
 T. I. 444.

St. *Augustin* was cited; and it had been too shameful for the *Reformers* to own, that so great a *Doctor*, the defender of *christian Grace*, had been ignorant of the foundation of it. But what *Melancthon* writes to a friend in confidence, shews us plainly, that 'twas only for form-sake, and to save appearances, they named St. *Augustin* in the party: for he repeats three or four times with a kind of concern, that what hinders his friend from well understanding this matter is, because *He is still too much wedded to St. Augustin's imagination*, and that *He must turn away his eyes intirely from the imagination of this Father*. But then, what is this imagination he must turn his eyes from? Why, *It is*, says he, *the imagination of being held for just by the fulfilling of the law, which the Holy Ghost works within us*. This fulfilling, according to *Melancthon*, avails nothing towards rendering man agreeable to God, and it was a false *imagination* in St. *Augustin*, to think the contrary: thus does he treat so great a man. And nevertheless he cites him upon account, says he, of *the publick opinion men have of him*: but in the main, continues he, *He does not sufficiently explain the justice of Faith*; as who should say: in such a subject, we ought at least to cite a *Father* the whole world accounts the best interpreter of this article, altho', to speak the truth, he makes not for us. He found nothing more favourable in the rest of the *Fathers*. *What thick darkness*, said he, *do we find on this subject in the common doctrine of the Fathers and our adversaries*. What became of those fine words, *consult with the ancient Church*? why did he not practice what he advised others? And seeing he knew no piety, as indeed none there is but what's grounded on the true doctrine of *justification*, how could he believe, so many *Saints* were ignorant of it? how could

Lib. 111.

Ep. 126.

Col. 574.

S. n. 2.

Lib. 1. Ep.

94.

Lib. iv.

Ep. 228.

could he imagine, he saw so clearly in *Scripture*, what he would not see in the *Fathers*, not even in *St. Augustin*, the *Doctor* and defender of justifying Grace against the *Pelagians*, whose doctrine, also in this point, the whole *Church* had constantly follow'd?

XXX.
Melanc-
thon can
 neither sa-
 tisfy him-
 self in im-
 puted-jus-
 tice, nor
 resolve to
 abandon it.
Lib. iv.
Ep. 110.
Omnino
valdè mul-
tum laboris
sustineo,
&c.

Lib. 1. Ep.
 94.

But what most deserves our observation in this place is, that he himself, as much smitten as he was with the glittering idea of his *imputed justice*, never could succeed in explaining it to his own liking. Not content with laying down the *dogma* in most ample manner in the *Confession of Augsburg*, he applies himself wholly to the expounding of it in the *Apology*; and whilst he composed it, wrote to his friend *Camerarius*: *I truly suffer a very great and painful labour in the Apology, in the points of justification, which I desire to explain profitably.* But however, after all this pains-taking, has he fully explain'd it? Let us hear what he writes to another friend; 'tis the same we have seen him reprove as too much wedded to *St. Augustin's* imaginations: *I have endeavour'd*, says he, *to explain this doctrine in the Apology, but in such discourses as these, the calumnies of our adversaries permit not the explaining of myself so as I do to you at present, tho' at the bottom I say the same thing.* And a little after: *I hope you'll find some kind of help from my Apology, albeit I there speak with caution of so great matters.* This whole letter scarce contains one single page: the *Apology* has more than a hundred on this subject; and notwithstanding, this letter, according to him, explains it better than the *Apology*. The thing was, he durst not say in the *Apology* as clearly as he did in this letter, *That we MUST INTIRELY TAKE OFF OUR EYES from the accomplishment of the law, even from that WHICH THE HOLY GHOST WORKS IN US.* This is what he call'd rejecting

rejecting St. *Augustin's* imagination. He saw himself always pressed with this question of the *Catholics*: if we are agreeable to God independently of all *good-works*, and all fulfilling of the law; even of that which the *Holy Ghost* works in us; how, and whereto are good-works necessary? *Melancthon* perplexed himself in vain to ward off this blow, and to elude this dreadful consequence: *Therefore good-works, according to you, are not necessary?* This is what he call'd *the calumnies of adversaries*, which hinder'd him from owning frankly, in the *Apology*, all he had a mind to say. This was the cause of *that great labour* he had to undergo, and of *those precautions* with which he spoke. To a friend, the whole *Mystery* of doctrine was disclosed, but in publick he was to be on his guard; he yet further added to this friend, that when all is done, this doctrine is not well understood, *except in the conflicts of conscience*. Which was as much as to say, that when man could do no more, and knew not how to assure himself of having a Will sufficient for fulfilling the *Law*, the remedy for preserving (all this notwithstanding) the undoubted assurance of pleasing God preach'd-up in the new *Gospel* was, to take off their eyes from the *Law*, and the fulfilling of it, in order to believe, that, independently of all this, God reputed us for just. This was the repose *Melancthon* flatter'd himself with, and which he never would relinquish.

This difficulty indeed always occurred in holding ones self assured of the forgiveness of sins, without the like assurance of conversion, as if these two things were separable and independent one of the other. This occasion'd, in *Melancthon*, *that great labour*, and therein he could never satisfy himself; so that, after the *Confession of Ausburg*, and so many painful inquiries of the *Apology*,

Apology, he comes besides, in the *Confession* call'd *Saxonick*, to another exposition of *justifying Grace*, where he advances other novelties which we shall see in time. Thus is man agitated, when smitten with an idea, that has but a delusive appearance; fain would he explain his thoughts, but knows not how: fain would he find in the *Fathers* what he searches after; yet cannot renounce the flattering idea, that so agreeably prepossesses him. Let us tremble and humble ourselves; let us acknowledge, that, in man, there is a profound source of pride and error, and that the weaknesses of the human mind, like to the judgments of God, are unfathomable.

XXXI.
Melan-
thon's
grievous
agonies.
He fore-
sees the
dreadful
consequen-
ces of the
overthrow
of Church
authority.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 228.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 140.

Melanthon was persuaded he saw truth on one side, and *lawful authority* on the other. His heart was divided, and the struggle to unite these two, gave him a continual torment. He was not able to renounce the charms of his *imputed justice*, nor make the body of the *Bishops* receive a doctrine unknown to those, who had govern'd the *Church* till then. Hereupon, that authority, he loved for being lawful, became odious to him for opposing that, which he mistook for truth. At the same time that you hear him say, *He never call'd the authority of Bishops in question*, he arraigns *their tyranny*, chiefly because they opposed his doctrine, and believes *He weakens his own cause by labouring to re-establish them*. Mistrusting his own conduct, he racks himself, nor foresees any thing but disasters. *What will this Council be, says he, if held, but a tyranny either of Papists, or of others; a battle of Divines more cruel and stubborn than that of Centaurs?* Well was he acquainted with his master *Luther*, and fear'd no less the tyranny of his own, than that he attributed to the adverse party. The fury of *Divines* makes him tremble. He sees, autho-
rity

rity once shaken, that all the *Dogmata*, even the most important, will be call'd in question one after another, without knowing where to stop. The disputes and differences about the Lord's *Supper*, discover'd to him, what was to happen on other articles; good God, says he, *what tragedies will posterity behold, if these questions ever come to be moved, whether or no the Word, whether the Holy Ghost be a person!* These matters began to be moved in his time: but he judged this beginning to be but weak as yet; for he perceived the minds of men to wax insensibly bolder and bolder against the establish'd doctrines, and the authority of Ecclesiastical decisions. What would have been the case, had he seen the other pernicious consequences of these doubts the *Reformation* started? the whole order of discipline publicly overthrown by some, and Independence set up, that is *Anarchy*, with its whole train of evils, under the specious and flattering name of liberty; the spiritual power, by others, put into the hands of *Princes*; *Christian* doctrine impugned in every point; *Christians* denying the work of the *Creation*, and that of man's *Redemption*; destroying hell; abolishing the soul's *immortality*; stripping *Christianity* of all its *Mysteries*, and changing it into a sect of *Philosophy* wholly adapted to the senses: thence *indifference* of *Religions* springing up, and what naturally ensues, the very foundation of Religion sapt; the Scripture directly combated; the way open'd to *Deism*, that is, to *Atheism* in disguise, and the books, that broach these prodigious doctrines, issuing from the bosom of the *Reformation*, and from those quarters where she predominates. What would *Melancthon* have said, had he foreseen all these evils? and what would have been his lamentations? he had seen enough to trouble him his whole life long. The contests
of

of his own times and party were sufficient to make him say, that, without a visible miracle, all Religion would be soon extinct.

XXXII.
The causes
of Melan-
thon's er-
rors. He
alleges
the promi-
ses made
to the
Church,
but trusts
not enough
in them.
Lib. 1. Ep.
107. iv.
76. &c.
V. 5. n.
28.
Matth.
xxviii. 20.

Rom. iv.
18.

What benefit did he then find in those divine promises, whereby, as he himself attests, *Jesus Christ* had bound himself to maintain his Church even in her extreme old age, and never to suffer her to perish. Had he thoroughly consider'd this blessed promise, he would not have been satisfied with owning, as he has done, that the Gospel doctrine would subsist eternally in spite of errors and disputes: but would have own'd moreover, that it ought to subsist by the means establish'd in the Gospel, to wit, by an ever *inviolable succession* of the Ecclesiastical ministry. He would have seen, that it was to the *Apostles*, and to the *successors* of the *Apostles*, this promise was address'd: *Go, teach, baptize; and lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world.* Had he comprehended well these words, he would never have imagined, that truth could be separated from that body, wherein *succession* and *lawful authority* were found; and God himself would have taught him, that, as the profession of truth can never be overruled by error, the force of *Apostolick ministry* can receive no interruption by whatever relaxation of discipline. This is the *Faith* of *Christians*: thus, with *Abraham*, they must believe the promise, *In hope against hope*; and further believe, that the Church will preserve her *succession*, and bring forth children, even then, when she shall appear the most barren, and her strength, thro' length of days, the most exhausted. *Melancthon's Faith* could not stand this trial. He believed indeed in the *promise* in general, whereby the profession of truth was to subsist: but had not sufficient *Faith* in the means God had appointed for its maintenance. What did the retaining of so many good

good sentiments avail him? The enemy of our *Salvation*, says St. *Gregory Pope*, does not always wholly extinguish them; and as *God* leaves in his children the remains of concupiscence which keeps them in humility, *Satan*, his imitator in a contrary sense, leaves also in his slaves (however strange it may seem) the remains of piety (false doubtless and deceitful) but yet apparent, whereby he accomplishes their seduction. To compleat the mischief, they believe themselves *Saints*, without reflecting, that piety, unattended with all its requisites, is nothing but *hypocrisy*. *Melancthon* from some interior impuſe was moved to think, that *Peace* and *Unity*, without which there is neither *Faith* nor *Church*, had no other support on earth but the authority of the ancient *Pastors*. He did not follow this divine light to its whole extent; his foundations were all subverted; every thing fell out contrary to his hopes. He aspired to *unity*; he lost it for ever, without being able to meet with so much as the shadow of it in the Party, wherein he had sought it. The *Reformation*, brought about or supported by arms, fill'd him with horror; he saw himself under the necessity of finding out excuses for an excess which he detested. Let us reflect on what he wrote to the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* ready to arm: *May your Highness be persuaded, that it's better to endure all extremities, than to take up arms for the Gospel-cause*. But he was forced to retract this fine maxim, when the Party had enter'd into a *confederacy* to make war, and *Luther* himself had declared for them. The unfortunate *Melancthon* could not even retain his natural sincerity: but was obliged to join with *Bucer* in laying snares for the *Catholicks*, in affected equivocations; to load them with calumnies in the *Confession* of *Ausburg*; to approve publickly this *Confession*, which he wish'd, from the bottom

Pastor. p.
111. *Adm.*
31.

Lib. 111.
Ep. 16.
Li. iv. Ep.
110. 111.

V. S. Lib.
iv. n. 2.
& seq.
Ibi. n. 24.

of his heart, to have reform'd in so many points; to speak always as best pleased others; to pass his whole life in perpetual dissimulation, and that even with respect to *Religion*, the first act whereof is to *believe*, as the second is, to *confess*; what a constraint! what a corruption! but party-zeal carries all before it: one hardens and animates another: they must not only defend themselves, but multiply; the fine name of *Reformation* makes all lawful, and the first engagement makes all necessary.

XXXIII.
The Prin-
ces and
Doctors of
the party
are alike
insupport-
able to
him.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 85.

Skid. l.
viii.

Mean while, the heart is stung with secret reproaches, and irksom is such a state. *Melancthon* often witnesses, that strange things pass in his mind, and knows not how to express his internal anguish. In the account he gives his intimate friend *Camerarius* concerning the decrees of the assembly of *Spire*, and the resolutions taken by the *Protestants*; all the terms he employs, to represent his grief, are extreme. *They are incredible agitations, and the torments of hell; he's almost brought to death's door. What he feels, is horrible; his consternation is astonishing. During his oppressions, he is sensibly convinced, how much certain people are to blame.* When he dares not speak out, 'tis some head of the Party that's to be understood, and principally *Luther*; 'twas not certainly out of any fear of *Rome*, that he wrote with so much precaution, and kept within such bounds; and on the other hand, 'tis most certain, nothing troubled him so much, as what passed in the Party itself, where all things were carried on by politick interests, under-hand-contrivances, and violent counsels; in a word, nothing was there treated on but *Leagues*, which all good men, said he, ought to obstruct. All the affairs of the *Reformation* turn'd on these *Leagues* of *Princes* with the confederate Towns, which the
Emperor

Emperor had a mind to break, and the Protestant Princes were resolved to maintain; and this is what Melancthon wrote to Camerarius; You see, *Lib. iv.* my dear friend, that in all these conventions, nothing is less thought on than Religion. Fear makes them propose agreements, such as they are, for a time, and with dissimulation; and no wonder, if such treaties succeed ill; for is it possible that God should bless such counsels? Far from exaggerating when he speaks thus, 'tis perceived even from his letters, that he saw something in the Party, still worse than what he wrote. *I see, says he, that Ibid. 70.* there is something secretly machinating, and I wish, I were able to stifle all my thoughts. He had such a disgust against the Princes of his own Party and their assemblies, which they always made him be present at, in order to draw from his eloquence and facility excuses for counsels he approved not of, that at length he cried out: *Happy are they Ibid. 85.* who meddle not with publick affairs! nor did he ever find the least repose, till after a too clear conviction of the evil intentions of those Princes, *Lib. iv.* he had quite left off giving himself any concern about *228.* their projects; but they intangled him again in their intrigues, and it will soon appear, how he was obliged to authorize, by writing, their most scandalous proceedings. The opinion he had of the Doctors of the Party, and how little he was satisfied with them, has been already shewn; but here is something still stronger. *Their manners Ibid. Ep.* are such, says he, that, very moderately speaking, *742.* many people, moved at the confusion they behold amongst them, think any other state a golden age, comparatively to that they put us in. He judged *Ibid. 759.* these wounds incurable; and the Reformation, from the very beginning, stood in need of another Reformation.

XXXIV.

The prodigies, the prophecies, the horoscopes wherewith *Melancthon* was disturb'd.
Lib. 11. Ep. 89. 269.

Lib. 1. Ep. 120. 111. 69.

Lib. 11. Ep. 37. 445. Lib. 4v. Ep. 119.

35. 137.

Besides these agitations, in his correspondence with *Camerarius*, *Osiander*, and the rest of the heads of the Party, and with *Luther* himself; he was continually upon the subject of the prodigies that happen'd, and the dreadful threats of the angry heavens. Sometimes you know not what he would be at: but 'tis always something terrible. Something, I know not what, which he promises to disclose, in private, to his friend *Camerarius*, raises a kind of horror when you read him. Other prodigies, almost coincident with the sitting of the Diet of *Ausburg*, appear'd to him favourable to the new Gospel. At *Rome*, The extraordinary overflowing of the Tiber, and a mule's bringing forth, whose foal had a cranes foot: in the territory of *Ausburg*, the birth of a Calf with two heads, were to him a sign of an unquestionable change in the state of the universe, and in particular, of *Rome's* approaching ruin by Schism: 'tis what he writes most seriously to *Luther* himself, informing him withal, that this happen'd on that same day the Confession of *Ausburg* was presented to the Emperor. Here we see, with what notions the authors of this Confession, and the heads of the Reformation, fed themselves at so great a conjuncture: *Melancthon's* letters are quite full of dreams and visions, and one is apt to think he is reading *Titus Livius*, upon viewing all the prodigies there related. Is this all? O the extreme weakness of so admirable a wit in other respects, and, barring his preventions, so very penetrating! the threats of *Astrologers* terrify him. He's continually under frights from the sad conjunctions of the stars: A dreadful aspect of Mars makes him tremble for his daughter, whose horoscope he himself had cast. He is not less dismay'd at the horrible flame of a comet extremely northern. While

the conferences were held at *Ausburg* upon matters of Religion, he comforts himself for their proceeding so slowly on, because *The Astrologers foretell, that the stars will be more propitious to Ecclesiastical disputes, towards Autumn.* God was above all these presages, 'tis true; and *Melancthon* repeats it frequently as well as the Almanack-makers: but after all, the stars ruled even *Church affairs*: we find his friends, that is, the heads of the Party, enter'd with him into these reflexions: as for himself, his unlucky nativity promised him nothing, but endless contests on doctrine, great labours, and little fruit. He's astonish'd, born as he was on the hills adjacent to the *Rhine*, that it should have been foretold him he was to suffer ship-wreck on the *Baltick sea*; and being sent for into *England* and *Denmark*, he's determined not to venture himself on that sea. To so many prodigies and so many threats of unfriendly constellations, to compleat the illusion, he join'd also prophecies. 'Twas one of the Party's weaknesses to believe, that their whole success had been foretold, and here is one of the most remarkable predictions they boast of. In 1516, as they say, and a year before the commotions of *Luther*, some *Cordelier* or other, commenting upon *Daniel*, had taken it into his head to say, that the *Pope's power was going to decline, and would never rise again.* This prediction was equally true with that other, which this new Prophet tack'd to it, viz. that in 1600, *The Turk would be master of all Italy and Germany.* Notwithstanding, *Melancthon* seriously relates the vision of this *Fanatick*, and brags of having the original by him, just as it was written by the brother *Cordelier*. Who would not have trembled at this news? The *Pope*, it seems, already stagger'd at *Luther's* blow, and now they will

195. 198.

759. 844.

&c.

Ibid. 119.*Ibid.* 146.*Ibid.* 93.*Lib.* 11.*Ep.* 448.*Ibid.* 37.*Mel. lib.*1. *Ep.* 65.

*Ibid.**Lib. iv.**Ep. 70.*

have it, he is quite laid flat. *Melancthon* takes all this for prophecy, so weak is man, when prepossess'd! After the *Pope's* downfall he believes he sees the victorious *Turk* pressing forward; nay, the Earth-quakes, that happen'd then, confirm him in this thought. Who would believe him capable of all these impressions, if all his letters were not full of them? We must do him this honour; they were not his own dangers, which caused him so much trouble and anxiety: in the midst of his most violent agitations, we hear him say confidently, *Our dangers disturb me less than our faults.* He assigns a fine motive for his grief: the publick grievances, and in particular, the grievances of the *Church*: but the truth is, he was sensible in his conscience, as he frequently acknowledges, how great a share they had in these grievances, who had bragg'd of being the *Reformers* of them. But enough of the troubles which afflicted *Melancthon* in particular: the reasons of his behaviour at the *Smalkaldick* assembly, and the motives for the restriction he put to that furious article, which *Luther* proposed against the *Pope*, have been sufficiently explain'd.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK VI.

From the Year 1537, to 1546.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The Landgrave strives to maintain union betwixt the Lutherans and Zuinglians. A new remedy found out for the incontinence of this Prince by allowing him to marry a second wife, the first alive. The remarkable instruction he gives to Bucer, in order to bring Luther and Melancthon over to this sentiment. The dogmatical judgment of Luther, Bucer, and Melancthon in favour of Polygamy. The new marriage ensues in consequence of this consultation. The Party is ashamed, and neither dares deny nor own it. The Landgrave prevails on Luther to suppress the Elevation of the Holy Sacrament in favour of the Switzers, whom this ceremony had alienated from the Smalkaldick league. On this occasion Luther is provok'd afresh against the Sacramentarians. Melancthon's design to destroy the foundation of the Altar-sacrifice. It's own'd in the Party, that this Sacrifice is inseparable from the Real Presence and Luther's doctrine. As much

confess'd concerning Adoration. A Momentaneous Presence, and in the sole reception, how allow'd. Luther's sentiment despised by Melancthon, and the Divines of Leypsick and Wittemberg. Luther's furious Theses against the Lovain-Divines. He acknowledges the Sacrament to be adorable: detests the Zuinglians, and dies.

I.
The scandalous incontinency of the Landgrave, and what remedy was found for it in the Reformation.

M D
xxxix.



THE *Wittemberg*-agreement held not long: 'twas foolish to imagine, that a peace, so patch'd up, could be of any long continuance; and that so great an opposition in doctrine, with so great an emotion in the minds of men, could be surmounted by equivocations. *Luther* could not forbear dropping angry words, and venting his spleen against *Bucer*. Those of *Zurick* were not backward in defence of their *Doctor*; but *Philip Landgrave of Hesse*, who had always warlike projects in his head, kept the whole *Protestant* Party united, as far as he was able, and, for some years, withheld them from coming to an open rupture. This Prince was the support of the *Smalkaldick League*; and, considering the great need they had of him in the Party, they allow'd to him, what no example before had warranted among Christians. It was to have two wives at once; nor could the *Reformation* find out any other remedy for his incontinence.

Thuan. l.
iv. ad
An. 1557.

Mel. l. iv.
Ep. 214.

The Historians, who have written, that this Prince otherwise was very temperate, were not let into the whole secret of the Party: they did all they could to hide the intemperance of a Prince, the *Reformation* cried up above all others. We find from *Melancthon's* letters in 1539, at the time when the *League of Smalkald* became so formidable, that this Prince had a distemper, which was carefully

carefully conceal'd: 'twas one of those, that are not to be named. He recover'd; and for his intemperance, the *heads* of the *Reformation* prescribed the new remedy above-mention'd. They hid, to the best of their power, this shame of the *new Gospel*. Mr. *de Thou*, with all his penetration into foreign affairs, could, it seems, discover no more, than that *Prince*, by the advice of his *Pastors*, had a concubine together with his wife. This is enough to cover these false Pastors with confusion, who thus authorize concubinage: but it was not then known, that these Pastors were *Luther* himself and all the *heads* of the Party, and that they permitted the *Landgrave* to have a concubine, under the title of a lawful wife, altho' he then had another, whose marriage subsisted in full force. At present, this whole mystery of iniquity is discover'd by the authentick papers, which the late *Electoꝛ Palatine Charles-Lewis* caused to be printed; and part whereof *Ernest Prince of Hesse*, descended from *Philip*, has made publick since his becoming *Catholick*.

The book, which the *Prince Palatine* caused to be printed, bears this title: *Conscientious' considerations on marriage, with a dilucidation of the questions till this present time debated, touching adultery, divorce, and polygamy*. The book came out in *high-Dutch* in 1679, under the borrow'd name of *Daphnæus Arcuarius*, under which was hidden that of *Laurentius Bæger*, that is *Laurence Archer*, one of this Prince's Counsellors.

The drift of the book is, in appearance, to justify *Luther* against *Bellarmino*, who accused him of authorizing *Polygamy*: but, in reality, he shews that *Luther* favour'd it; and lest it might be said, he, perchance, advanced this doctrine at the beginning only of the *Reformation*, he produces
what

II.
Important
acts rela-
ting to
this mat-
ter taken
from a
book
printed by
order of
the Electoꝛ
*Charles-
Lewis
Count
Palatine.*

what was done a long time after, in this new marriage of the *Landgrave*.

He instances in three pieces, the first of which is an instruction of the *Landgrave* himself deliver'd to *Bucer*: for he was the person trusted to negotiate with *Luther* the whole business; whence it's plain that the *Landgrave*, at times, employ'd him in adjusting matters of a quite different nature, than were the *Sacramentarian* contests. You have here a faithful copy of this *instruction*; and as the piece is remarkable, it may be here seen intire translated word for word from *high-Dutch* into *Latin*, and by a good hand.

Vid. The end of this Book vi.

III.

Bucer sent to *Luther* and other heads of the party to obtain leave for marrying a second wife. (This Prince's instruction to his Envoy. *Instr. n. 1.*

2. *Ibid. n.*

3. *Ibid. n.*

4. *Ibid. n.*

5. *Ibid. n.*

6. *Ibid. n.*

7. *Ibid. n.*

8. *Ibid. n.*

9. *Ibid. n.*

10. *Ibid. n.*

11. *Ibid. n.*

12. *Ibid. n.*

13. *Ibid. n.*

14. *Ibid. n.*

15. *Ibid. n.*

16. *Ibid. n.*

17. *Ibid. n.*

18. *Ibid. n.*

19. *Ibid. n.*

20. *Ibid. n.*

The *Landgrave* begins by setting forth, how that, *Since his last illness, he had much reflected on his state, and chiefly upon this, that a few weeks after his marriage, he had begun to wallow in adultery: that his Pastors had frequently exhorted him to approach the holy table, but he did believe, he should there meet with his judgment, because he WILL NOT abandon such a course of life.* He imputes to his wife the cause of all his disorders, and gives the reasons for his never loving her: but, having a difficulty in explaining himself on these matters, he refers them to *Bucer*, whom he had made privy to the whole affair.

Next he speaks of his complexion, and the effects of high living at the assemblies of the *Empire*, which he was obliged to be present at. To carry thither a wife, of such a quality as his own, would be too great an incumbrance. When his *Preachers* remonstrated to him, that he ought to punish adulteries and such like crimes: *how, said he, can I punish crimes, I myself am guilty of? When I expose myself in war for the Gospel-cause, I think I should go to the devil, should I be kill'd there by the sword, or a musket-ball. Am sensible, that*

that with the wife I have, NEITHER CAN I, Ibid. n. 6.
 NEITHER WILL I, *change my life, whereof*
 I TAKE GOD TO WITNESS; *so that I find no*
means of amendment, but by the remedies God af-
forded the people of old, that is to say, Polygamy.

He there brings the reasons which persuade him, that it is not forbidden under the Gospel; and what deserves most notice, is his saying, *that, to his knowledge, Luther and Melancthon advised the King of England not to break off his marriage with the Queen his wife, but, besides her, also to wed another.* This again is a secret, we were ignorant of. But a Prince so well inform'd says, he knows it, and adds that they ought to allow him this remedy so much the readier, because he demands it only *for the salvation of his soul.* I am resolv'd, proceeds he, *to remain no longer in the devil's snares; NEITHER CAN I, NEITHER WILL I, withdraw myself but by this way: wherefore I beg of Luther, of Melancthon, and Bucer himself, to give me a certificate, that I may embrace it.* But if they apprehend, *such a certificate may turn to scandal at this time, and prejudice the Gospel-cause, should it be printed, I desire at least, they will give me a declaration in writing, that God would not be offended, should I marry in private; and that they'll seek for means to make this marriage publick in due time; to the end that the woman, I shall wed, may not pass for a dishonest person: otherwise, in process of time, the Church would be scandaliz'd.*

Then he assures them, that *they need not fear, N. 13.*
lest this second marriage should make him injure his
first wife, or even separate himself from her, since,
on the contrary, he's determin'd, in this occasion,
to carry his cross, and leave his dominions to their
common children. Let them therefore grant me,
continues this Prince, in the name of God, what

IV.
 Sequel of
 the instruc-
 tion. The
 Land-
 grave pro-
 mises the
 revenues
 of mona-
 steries to
 Luther, if
 he will fa-
 vour his
 design.
 N. 6. &
 seq.
 Ibid. n.
 10.
 Ibid. n.
 11.
 N. 12.

I request of them; to the end I may both live and die more chearfully for the Gospel-cause, and more willingly undertake the defence of it; and on my side, I will do whatsoever they shall in reason ask of me, whether they demand THE REVENUES OF MONASTERIES, or other things of the like nature.

V.
Continuation of it.
The Landgrave proposes to have recourse to the Emperor, and even to the Pope, in case of refusal.

Ibid. n.

14.

Ibid. n.

15. & seq.

We see how artfully he insinuates the reasons, which he, who knew them so thoroughly, was sensible would be most influencing; and as he foresaw, that scandal was the thing they would be under the greatest apprehensions from; he adds, that *Already the Ecclesiasticks hated the Protestants to such a degree, that they would not hate them more or less, for this new article allowing Polygamy. But if, contrary to his expectation, Melancthon and Luther should prove inexorable, many designs run in his head; amongst others, that of applying to the Emperor for this dispensation whatever money it might cost him. This was a ticklish point: For there is no likely hood of the Emperor's granting this permission without the Pope's dispensation, which I but little matter, says he: but for that of the Emperor, I ought not to despise it, tho' I should make but little account of that too, did I not otherwise believe, that God had rather allow'd, than forbidden, what I wish for; and if the attempt I make on this side, that is upon Luther, succeed not, a human fear urges me to demand the Emperor's consent; certain as I am to obtain all I please, upon giving a round sum of money to some one of his ministers. But, altho' I would not for any thing in the world, withdraw myself from the Gospel, or be engaged in any affair that might be contrary to its interest, I am nevertheless afraid, lest the Imperialists should draw me into something no wise to the advantage of this Cause and Party. I therefore beseech them, concludes he, to afford me the redress I expect, lest I should go seek it IN SOME OTHER PLACE less agreeable,*

agreeable, desirous a thousand times rather to owe my repose to their permission, than to all other human permissions. Finally, I desire to have in writing, the opinion of Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, to the end I may amend myself; and with a good conscience approach the Sacrament. Given at Melsinguen the Sunday after St. Catherine's day 1539,

PHILIP LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.

The instruction was equally pressing and ticklish. We see the secret springs which the Landgrave sets in motion: he forgets nothing; and, whatever contempt he shew'd for the Pope, the very naming him on this occasion, was too much for these new Doctors. So dextrous a Prince let not that word slip without design; nay, the very hint of entering into conjunction with the Emperor, was enough to make the whole Party tremble. These reasons carried with them much more weight, than those the Landgrave had strove to draw from Scripture. To cogent reasons he had join'd an artful agent. Accordingly, Bucer obtain'd of Luther a consultation in form, the original of which was in high-Dutch in Melancthon's hand and stile. It is permitted to the Landgrave, according to the Gospel (for every thing is done in the Reformation under that name) to marry another wife besides that he hath already. They deplore indeed the condition he is in, *That he cannot refrain from his adulteries as long as he shall have but one wife*, and represent to him this state, as very bad in the sight of God, and contrary to the security of his conscience. But, at the same time, and in the next period, they grant him their leave, and declare to him, that he may marry a second wife, if he be fully bent upon it, provided only he keep it secret. Thus the same mouth pronounces good and evil. Thus the crime becomes lawful,

VI.
The dog-matical advice of Luther. Polygamy allow'd by him and the other heads of the Protestants.

Vid. at the end of this Book vi.

Consult. of Luther. n. 21. 22.

Ibid. n. 20.

N. 21.

Jam. 111. 10.

by

by concealing it. I blush to write these things, and the *Doctors*, who wrote them, were themselves ashamed of them. This may be seen thro' the whole tenor of their perplex'd and winding sentences. But they were obliged to speak the word, and allow the *Landgrave*, in express terms, this *Bigamy* he so much coveted. This was the first time it was ever said since the birth of *Christianity*, by men styling themselves *Doctors* in the *Church*, that *Jesus Christ* had not forbid such marriages; that text of *Genesis*, *They shall be two in one flesh*, was eluded, altho' *Jesus Christ* had reduced it to its first sense and primitive institution, which suffers but two persons in the nuptial band. The resolution in the *German* language was sign'd by *Luther*, *Bucer*, and *Melancthon*. Two other *Doctors*, one of them *Melander* the *Landgrave's* minister, sign'd it also in *Latin* at *Wittemberg* in the month of *December* 1539. This permission was granted in form of dispensation, and reduced to a case of necessity; for they were ashamed of passing this practice into a general law. They found out necessities against the *Gospel*; and after having so much blamed *Rome's dispensations*, they ventured to give one of that high importance. All the most renown'd persons of the *Reformation* in *Germany* consented to this iniquity: God visibly gave them over to a reprobate sense; and those, who exclaim'd against abuses in order to render the *Church* odious, themselves commit much stranger and more numerous ones at the very beginning of their *Reformation*, than they could either rake up or invent, during the course of so many ages that they upbraid the *Church* with her corruption.

VII.
What was
answer'd
in this con-

The *Landgrave* had very well foreseen, he should make his *Doctors* tremble with the bare mentioning his thoughts of treating with the *Emperor* on this affair. They answer him, that this

Prince

Prince has neither Faith, nor Religion; that he's sultation
a cheat, who has nothing of German manners in with re-
him, with whom 'tis dangerous to enter into any lation to
engagements. Writing thus to a *Prince of the Em-* the Empe-
pire, what is it else, but putting all Germany in a ror.
flame? Then, what can be more abject than what Ibid. n.
appears at the beginning of this advice? Our 23. 24.
poor, little, miserable and abandon'd Church, say Ibid. n.
they, stands in need of virtuous governing Princes. 2.
 Here is the reason, if taken right, these new
Doctors go upon. But these *virtuous Princes,*
 the *Reformation* stood in need of, were *Princes*
 who would make the Gospel truckle to their pas-
 sions. The *Church*, indeed, may want the sup-
 port of *Princes* for her temporal repose: but to
 broach pernicious and unheard of points of doc-
 trine, purely to please them, and, by this means,
 to sacrifice to them the *Gospel* they boast of re-
 establishing, is the true *Mystery* of iniquity, and
 the abomination of desolation in the *Sanctuary*.

So infamous a *consultation* was enough to dis-
 credit the whole Party; nor could the *Doctors*, who
 subscribed it, have silenced the clamours, nor
 shun'd the odium of the people, who, as them-
 selves do own, would have rank'd them *with Ma-*
hometans, or Anabaptists, that make a jest of mar-
riage. Accordingly they took their measures, and
 in their advice forbid the *Landgrave*, above all
 things, ever to discover this new marriage.
 There were but a very small number of witnesses
 to be present, who were also to be bound to se-
 crecy, *Under the seal of Confession*; thus spoke the
Consultation. The new Bride was to pass for a
Concubine. They liked this scandal better in this
Prince's family, than what the approbation of a
 marriage, so contrary to the *Gospel* and the com-
 mon doctrine of all *Christians*, would have cau-
 sed throughout all *Christendom.*

VIII.

The secret
 of the se-
 cond mar-
 riage,

which was
 to pass for
 concubi-
 nage; this

scandal
 despised
 by those
 who were
 of the con-
 sultation.

Ibid. n.

10. 18.

Ibid. n.

21.

Ibid.

The

IX. The second marriage is made in private: the contract agreed upon.

M D XL.
Inst. copu-
lat. V. the
end of this
Book vi.

*Lettres de
Gastineau.
Varill.
Hist. de l'
Heres. liv.
xii.*

The consult was follow'd by a marriage in form betwixt Philip Landgrave of Hesse, and Margaret of Saal, by the consent of Christina of Saxony his wife. The Prince had no more to do but declare, at his marriage, that he did not take this second wife thro' any levity or curiosity, but from inevitable necessities of body and conscience, the which his Highness had laid before many learned, prudent, christian, and devout preachers, who had advised him to put his conscience in repose by this means. The instrument of this marriage, dated the fourth of March 1540, is together with the Consultation in the book, which was publish'd by order of the Elector Palatine. Prince Ernest has also furnish'd the same pieces, so that they are two ways become publick. 'Tis ten or twelve years since copies of them have been produced, in a book, dispersed thro' all France, and never contradicted: and now we have them in such authentick form, that there is no room left for doubt. That nothing further might be required, I have added thereto the Landgrave's instruction, and the history is now compleat.

X. The Landgrave's and Luther's answer to those who reproach them with this marriage.

*Horstede-
rus de cau-
sis bel.
Germ.
An. 1540.*

Evil deeds generally come out one way or other. Whatever caution was used to hide this scandalous marriage, it began nevertheless to be suspected; and certain it is, both the Landgrave and Luther were upbraided with it in publick writings: but they shifted off the matter by equivocating. A German author has publish'd a letter of the Landgrave's to Henry the young Duke of Brunswick, where he speaks to him in these words: You reproach me with a report that goes about, of my wedding a second wife, the first still living. But I declare to you, that if you, or any other, say that I have contracted an UNCHRISTIAN marriage, or that I have done any thing unworthy of a christian Prince, 'tis all down-right calumny:

calumny: for altho' towards God, I look upon myself as a miserable sinner, I behave nevertheless before him in my faith and in my conscience, after such a manner, that my Confessors do not hold me for an unchristian person. I give no body any scandal, and live with the Princess my wife in a perfect good-understanding. All this was true in his way of thinking, for he did not allow, that the marriage he was accused of, was unchristian. His first Lady was easy under it, and the Consultation had stopped the mouths of the Confessors of this Prince. Luther answers with no less artifice: They reproach the Landgrave, says he, with being a Polygamist. I have not much to say on this score. The Landgrave is able, and has men learned enough to defend him. As for myself, I know one onely Princess and Landgrave of Hesse, who is, and ought to be named wife and mother in Hesse, and there is no other that can give young Landgraves to this Prince, but the Princess who is the daughter of George Duke of Saxony. And indeed, they had order'd matters so, that neither the new bride, nor her children, could bear the title of Landgraves. To defend themselves thus, is forwarding their own conviction, and owning the shameful corruption introduced in doctrine by those, who in all their works, spoke of nothing, but re-establishing the pure Gospel.

T. vii.
Jen. fol.
425.

After all, Luther did but follow those principles he had laid down in other places. I have always dreaded speaking of those inevitable necessities which he admitted in the union of both sexes, and of that scandalous sermon he made at *Wittenberg* on marriage. But, since the series of the history has made me at once break thro' that barrier, which modesty had laid in my way, I can no longer dissemble what is found printed in Luther's works. It is true then, that in a sermon which

XI.

Luther's
scandalous
sermon on
marriage.

T. V. Serm. he made at *Wittemberg* for the Reformation of
de Matrim. marriage, he blush'd not to pronounce these infam-
 f. 123. ous and scandalous words: *If they are stubborn,*

he speaks of wives, *it's fitting their husbands should tell them; if you will not, another will: if the mistress refuse to come, let the maid be call'd.* A man would blush to hear such words in a farce and on the stage. The chief of the reformers preaches this seriously in the Church; and, as he turn'd all his excesses into *Dogmata*, he adds: *Howsoever, it is necessary for the husband to bring his wife first before the Church, and to admonish her two or three times: after that, put her away, and take Esther instead of Vasthi.* This was a new cause for divorce superadded to that of *adultery*. Thus did *Luther* handle the subject of the Reformation of marriage. We must not ask, in what Gospel he found this article; 'tis sufficient that it's included in *those necessities*, which he fain would believe were above all laws and precautions. After this, will any one wonder at what he allow'd the *Landgrave*? In this sermon, 'tis true, he orders to repudiate the first wife, before the other be taken; and in the *Consultation*, he permits the *Landgrave* to have two at once. But then, the sermon was pronounced in 1522, and the *Consultation* was penn'd in 1539. Fitting it was that *Luther* should have learnt something, after seventeen or eighteen years spent in *reforming*.

XII. From that time forward, the *Landgrave* had almost an absolute sway over this *Patriarch* of the Reformation; and after having found out his weak side in so essential a point, he did no longer believe he was capable of resisting him. This Prince was little versed in controversies: but to make amends, like an expert politician, he knew how to reconcile the minds of men, to manage different interests and keep up *confederacies*.

The Landgrave obliges Luther to suppress the elevation of the blessed Sacrament in

racies. His chief aim was to prevail upon the *Swiss* to enter into that of *Smalkald*. But he perceived, they were offended at many things in practice among the *Lutherans*, and particularly at the *Elevation* of the *Holy Sacrament*, which was still in use with the ringing of the bell, and the people striking their breasts with sighs and groans. Five and twenty years had *Luther* preserved these motions of a piety, which he knew had *Jesus Christ* for its object; but nothing was permanent in the *Reformation*. The *Landgrave* never ceased attacking *Luther* on this head, and press'd him with such importunity, that, after suffering this custom to be abolish'd in some *Churches* of his Party, he at length set it aside in the *Church* of *Wittemberg* which he had the Cure of. These changes happen'd in 1542, and 1543. The *Sacramentarians* triumph'd at it: they believed that *Luther* was now relenting; and even among the *Lutherans*, 'twas said, he was falling off from that admirable resolution, wherewith, till that time, he had maintain'd the ancient doctrine of the *Real Presence*, and coming to terms with the *Sacramentarians*. He was nettled at these reports, for the least thing, that touch'd upon his authority, was very grating to him. *Peucer*, *Melancthon's* son-in-law, from whom we have taken this account, observes, he took no notice of it for a while: for, says he, *His great heart was not easily wrought upon. Yet at length they rous'd him, and in the following manner.* A Physician named *Wildus*, of great repute in his profession, and much esteem'd by the nobility of *Misnia*, where these reports were most spread against *Luther*, came to visit him at *Wittemberg*, and met with a kind reception at his house. It fell out, proceeds *Peucer*, that at a feast, where *Melancthon* was also present, *this Physician being treated with wine*

the Mass.
How this
occasion
was made
use of to
inflame
him afresh
against the
Sacramen-
tarians.

M D XLII.

M D XLIII.

Gas. Peuc.
nar. hist.
de Phil.
Mel. soceri.
sui, sent.
de Cœn.
Dom. Am-
bergæ.
1596. p.
24.
Peuc. Ibid.
Sultzeri.
Ep. ad
Cal. inter.
Calv. Ep.
p. 52.
Peuc. Ibid.

(for at the *Reformers* tables men drank as in other places, and such abuses as these were not what they had undertaken to correct) this Physician, I say, began to talk unguardedly of the *Elevation* lately suppress'd; and told *Luther* very frankly, that the common opinion was, he had made this alteration only to please the *Swiss*, and was at length gone over to their notions. This great heart could not brook these words flung out in liquor: his emotion was perceptible, and *Melancthon* foresaw what ensued.

XIII.
Luther's
old jea-
lously awa-
ken'd
against
Zuinglius
and his
disciples.
M. D. XLV.

In this manner was *Luther* animated against the *Swiss*, and his wrath became implacable on account of two books, which those of *Zurick* caused to be printed the same year. One was a translation of the *Bible* made by *Leo of Juda*, that famous *Jew* who embraced the *Zuinglian* doctrine: the other was the works of *Zuinglius* carefully collected with great eulogiums of this author. Altho' there was nothing in these books against *Luther's* person, immediately, upon their publication, he flew out into prodigious excesses, nor had his transports ever appear'd so violent. The *Zuinglians* publish'd, and the *Lutherans* have almost own'd the same, that *Luther* could not endure, that any one, besides himself, should meddle with translating the *Bible*. He had made a very elegant version of it in his own language, and thought, it was not consistent with his honour that the *Reformation* should have any other, at least where *high-Dutch* was understood. The works of *Zuinglius* awaken'd his jealousy, and he believed, they were always resolved to set up this man against him, to dispute with him the glory of being the *first Reformer*. Be that as it will, *Melancthon* and the *Lutherans* all own'd, that after a truce of five or six years standing, *Luther* first renew'd the war, with greater fury than ever.

Hosp. part.
2. 183.
Calix. ju-
dicium. n.
72. 121.
122.

Hosp. Ibid.
f. 184.

Ibid.

Whatever

Whatever hank the *Landgrave* had upon *Luther*, he could never restrain his transports for any considerable time. The *Swiss* produce letters in *Luther's* own hand, where he forbids the book-feller, who had made him a present of *Leo's* translation, ever to send him any thing from those of *Zurick*; *For they were damn'd men, who dragged away others into hell; and the Churches no longer could communicate with them, nor consent to their blasphemies, and he had resolved to oppugn them, by his writings and his prayers, to his very last breath.*

Ibid. f.
183.

He kept his word. The year following he publish'd a comment upon *Genesis*, where he placed *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* with *Arius*, with *Muncer*, and the *Anabaptists*, among the *Idolaters*, who made themselves an idol of their own thoughts, and adored them in contempt of God's word. But what he afterwards publish'd was much more terrible: 'twas his little *Confession of Faith*, where he calls 'em *Mad-men*, *blasphemers*, *miserable wretches*; *damn'd souls*, for whom 'twas no longer lawful to pray: for he push'd things to this extremity, and protested, he would never have any further communication with 'em, neither by letters, nor by words, nor by works, if they did not confess, that the *Bread of the Eucharist* was the true-natural-Body of our Lord; which the *impious*, and even the traitor *Judas* received not less by the mouth, than *St. Peter* and the rest of the faithful.

XIV.
Luther
will not
suffer the
Sacramen-
tarians to
be any lon-
ger pray'd
for, and
believes
them ine-
vitably
damn'd.

M D XLIV.
Hosp. ibi.
p. 186.

187.
Calix jud.
n. 73. p.
123. &

seq.
Lut. parv.
conf.

By that means he believed he had put an end to the scandalous interpretations of the *Sacramentarians*, who turn'd all to their own sense, and declared he held all for fanatics, who should refuse subscribing this last *Confession of Faith*. For he took upon him to speak so big, and so threatened the world with his excommunications, that

XV.
Luther's
anathe-
ma's.
Conc. p.
734.
Luth. T.
2. f. 325.
Hosp. 193.

the Zuinglians call'd him nothing else, but the new Pope, and new Antichrist.

XVI.
The Zuinglians re-
prove Lu-
ther for
always
having
the devil
in his
mouth, and
call him a
mad-man.

Thus, not less vigorous was the defence than the attack. Those of Zurich scandaliz'd at this strange expression, *The bread is the true-natural Body of our Lord*, were much more so at Luther's outrageous contumelies: insomuch that, they wrote a book intitl'd, *Against the vain and scandalous calumnies of Luther*, in which they maintain, *That a man must be as mad as himself, to bear with his furious sallies: that he dishonour'd his old age, and, by his violence, render'd himself contemptible; and he ought to be ashamed of foisting into his books so much foul language, and so many devils.*

The truth is, *Luther* had taken care to place the Devil within and without, at top and at bottom, at the right hand and the left, before and behind the Zuinglians, inventing withal new phrases to pierce 'em thro' and thro' with Devils, and repeating this odious name, even to a degree of horror.

XVII.
Luther's
scandalous
prayer,
who says
he had
never of-
fended the
Devil.
Sleid. lib.
xiv.

Such was his custom: in 1542, the Turk threatening Germany more than ever, he had publish'd a prayer against him, where he brought in the Devil after a strange manner: *Thou knowest, said he, O Lord, that the Devil, the Pope, and the Turk, have neither right nor reason to torment us, for we have never offended them: but because we confess that thou, O Father, and thy Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost are but one only God eternal, there is our sin, there is our whole crime; for that it is they hate and persecute us; and we should have nothing more to fear from them, did we but renounce this Faith. What a blindness, to jumble together the Devil, the Pope, and Turk as the three enemies of the Faith in the Trinity! what a calumny to aver, that the Pope persecutes them.*

them for this *Faith*! and what a folly, to exculpate himself to the enemy of mankind as one that never had given him any discontent!

Some while after that *Luther* had renew'd his indignation against the *Sacramentarians* in the manner already mention'd, *Bucer* framed a new *Confession of Faith*. These men had never enough of that; it seem'd as if he had a mind to oppose it to the *little confession*, which *Luther* had but just publish'd. That of *Bucer* came up pretty near to the expressions of the *Wittemberg-agreement* whereof he was the mediator: but he would not have made a new *Confession of Faith*, had he not intended to change something. The thing was, he would not say as distinctly and generally as he had done, that the Body of our Saviour might be taken *without Faith*, and taken *very really* in vertue of our *Lord's institution*, which our evil dispositions could not deprive of its efficacy. *Bucer* here corrects that doctrine, and seems to put for a condition of *Jesus Christ's presence* in the *Supper*, not only that it be celebrated according to *Christ's institution*, but also, *That man have a solid Faith in those words by which he gives himself*. This doctor, who durst not give a *lively Faith* to those who communicated unworthily; in favour of them, invented *this solid Faith* which I leave to the examination of *Protestants*; and he would have it, that by such a *Faith*, the unworthy received *not only the Sacrament, but the Lord himself*.

He seems puzzled what to say of the *Communion* of the *impious*. For *Luther*, whom he would not openly contradict, had decided in his *little confession*, that *they as truly received Jesus Christ as the Saints*. But *Bucer*, who fear'd nothing so much as speaking plainly, says, that those among the *impious*, *Who have faith for a while, receive*

XVIII.
Bucer's
new Con-
fession of
Faith. He
confirms,
that the
unworthy
do really
receive the
Body of
our Lord.
Invention
of solid
Faith.
S. lib. iv.
n. 23.

Carf. Buc.
ibi. Art.
22.

Ibid. Art.
23.

XIX.
The same
author's
perplexi-
ties with
relation to
the com-
munion of
the impi-
ous.

Jesus Christ in an enigma, as they receive the Gospel. What prodigies of expressions! and for those who have no *Faith* at all, it seems he ought to say, they don't at all receive *Jesus Christ*. But that would have been too clear: he's content with saying, *They do not see, nor touch, in the Sacrament, any thing but what is sensible.* But what else would he have men see and touch therein, besides what is capable of striking the senses? The rest, that is the *Body* of our *Saviour*, may be believed, but no body pretends to see, or touch him in himself; nor have the faithful any advantage, in that respect, above the impious. Thus *Bucer*, according to custom, does nothing but embroil the question, and by his subtilties prepare the way, as we shall see, to those of *Calvin* and the *Calvinists*.

XX.
Melancthon labours to make the Real Presence momentaneous, and places it only in the act of using it.

XXI.
The assertion for the Mass is the true foundation of this dogma. Two things the Protestants cannot bear with therein,

Mean while, *Melancthon* made it his particular endeavour to diminish, as I may say, the *Real Presence*, by striving to reduce it to the precise time of its reception. This is a principal dogma of *Lutheranism*, and it behoves us to be well informed how it was established in the sect.

The *Mass* was held in great abhorrence by the new *Reformation*, tho' when all is done, it was nothing else, but the publick prayers of the *Church* consecrated by the celebration of the *Eucharist*, wherein, *Jesus Christ* present, honours his *Father*, and sanctifies the faithful. But two things offended the new *Doctors*, because they never thoroughly had understood them: one was the *Oblation*, the other the *Adoration* given to *Jesus Christ* present in these *Mysteries*.

The *Oblation* was nothing but the *Consecration* of the Bread and Wine, in order to make them the *Body* and *Blood* of *Jesus Christ*, and render him, by this means, truly present. It was impossible, this action should not, of itself, be agreeable

ble to God, nor that the sole presence of *Jesus Christ* shew'd to his Father, by honouring his supreme majesty, should not be capable of drawing down his graces on us. The new *Doctors* were bent to believe, that a virtue of saving men independently of *Faith*, was attributed to this *Presence* and to the *action* of the *Mass*: we have seen their error, and on so false a presupposition did the *Mass* become the object of their aversion. The most holy words of the *Canon* were decried. *Luther* discover'd poison in every part thereof, even in that prayer we there make a little before *Communion*: *O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who by thy death hast given life to the world, by thy Body and Blood free me from all my sins.* *Luther*, who could believe it! condemn'd these last words, and would imagine that we attributed our deliverance to the *Body and Blood* independently of *Faith*, without reflecting, that this prayer address'd to *Jesus Christ Son of the living God, who by his death had given life to the world*, was itself, in every part, a most lively act of *Faith*. No matter; *Luther* stood to it, that the *Monks* attributed *their salvation to the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ* without mentioning one word of *Faith*. If the *Priest*, at *Communion*, said with the *Psalmist*, *I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord*, *Luther* found fault with it, and said, that we improperly, and unseasonably, turn'd off the mind from *Faith* to works. How blind is hatred! how invenom'd must that heart be which poisons such holy things!

XXII.
Luther's
blind ha-
tred to the
Oblation
and the
Canon of
the Mass.

De abomin.
Miss. priv.
seu Cano-
nis. T. II.
393. 394.
P. 115.

No wonder, if after this, they shew'd the same virulence against the words of the *Canon*, where it is said, that *the faithful offer this sacrifice of praise for the redemption of their souls*. The most passionate of their *Ministers* are now obliged to own, that the intention of the *Church* here is

XXIII.
In what
sense we
offer in
the Mass
for the re-
demption
of man-

to

kind. The
ministers
forced to
approve
this sense.
*Blond.
Præf. in
lib. Al-
bert. de
Euchar.*

to offer for the *redemption*, not to *merit* it anew as if the *Cross* had not *merited* it, but in *thanksgiving* for so great a benefit, and with the design of applying it to us. But never would *Luther* or the *Lutherans* enter into so natural a sense: nothing would they see in the *Mafs* but horror and abomination: after this manner, all that was most holy in it, was wrested to an evil sense; and thence concluded *Luther*, that *the canon ought to be as much abominated, as the devil himself.*

XXIV.

The
whole
Mafs is
compre-
hended in
the Real
Presence
alone:
this Pre-
sence can
not be ad-
mitted
without
owning it
permanent
and exist-
ing out of
the recep-
tion.

*Judic. Ca-
lixi. n. 47.
p. 70. n.
51. p. 78.
S. lib. 11.
n. 1.*

This hatred, conceived by *Protestants* against the *Mafs*, made them desire nothing so earnestly as to subvert the foundation of it, which after all was nothing else but the *Real Presence*. For upon this *Presence* did the *Catholicks* ground the whole worth and virtue of the *Mafs*; this was the only basis of the *Oblation* and all the other worship; and *Jesus Christ* there present was its very essence. *Calixtus* a *Lutheran* has own'd, that one of the reasons, not to say the principal one, which made so great a part of the *Reformation* deny the *Real Presence* was, because they knew no better way to destroy the *Mafs* and the intire worship of *Popery*. *Luther*, could he have done it, would himself have come into this sentiment; and we have seen, what he said of the inclination he had to shake off *Popery* in this particular as well as others. And yet, whilst he retain'd, as he saw himself forced to do, the *literal sense*, and the *Real Presence*, 'twas evident that the *Mafs* subsisted intire: for upon his retaining this *literal sense*, the *Catholicks* concluded, not only that the *Eucharist* was the true Body; since *Jesus Christ* had said, *This is my Body*, but also, that it was the Body from the time *Christ* had pronounced it so; consequently, before the *Manducation*, and from the very instant of *Consecration*, since it was not then said, this shall be, but, *this is*: a doctrine wherein

we

we shall now perceive the whole *Mass* to be contain'd.

This consequence, which the *Catholicks* drew from the *Real Presence* to the *Permanent Presence* and subsisting independent of its use, was so clear, that *Luther* had acknowledged it: 'twas on this foundation that he retain'd the *Elevation* of the *Host* even to the year 1543, and even after he had abolish'd it, he still writes in his *little Confession* in 1544, that *It might be retain'd with piety, as a testimonial of the Real and Corporeal Presence in the Bread, since by this action the Priest did say: behold, Christians, this is the Body of Jesus Christ which was given for you.* Whence it appears, that, altho' he had changed the ceremony of *Elevation*, he did not change the foundation of his sentiment on the *Real Presence*, but continued to own it immediately after the *Consecration*.

XXV.
The Real Presence permanent and independent of the reception retain'd by *Luther*, even after he had suppress'd the *Elevation*.
Luth. paræ. Conf.
1544.
Hosp. 13.

With this faith 'tis impossible to deny the Sacrifice of the *Altar*: for what will they have *Jesus Christ* do before his Body and Blood are eaten, but to render himself present for us before his *Father*? 'Twas in order to hinder so natural a consequence, that *Melancthon* sought always to reduce this *Presence* to the sole *Manducation*: and it was chiefly at the conference of *Ratisbon*, that he display'd this part of his doctrine. *Charles V.* had order'd this Conference in 1541, betwixt the *Catholicks* and *Protestants*, that means might be found out for reconciling both *Religions*. 'Twas there, that *Melancthon* acknowledging, as he used to do, the *Real and Substantial Presence* together with the *Catholicks*, took great pains to shew, that the *Eucharist*, like other *Sacraments*, was not a *Sacrament* except in the lawful use thereof, that is, as he understood it, except in the *actual reception*,

XXVI.
Melancthon finds no other means of destroying the *Mass*, but by denying the permanent Presence.

Hosp. 154.
179. 180.

XXVII.

Melan-
thon's fri-
volous rea-
sons.

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The comparison he drew from the other *Sacra-ments* was very weak : for in *signs* of this nature where all depends on the will of the *institutor*, it appertains not to us to prescribe him general laws, nor to tell him, he can make but one kind of *Sacraments*; in the *institution* of his *Sacraments* he might have proposed to himself divers designs, which we must come at the knowledge of from the words he employ'd at each particular *institu-tion*. Now, *Jesus Christ* having said precisely, *this is*; the effect ought to be as speedy, as the words are powerful and true, nor was there room for further reasoning.

XXVIII.

Other as
frivolous
reasons.

Hosp. ibid.

Mel. lib.

11. Ep.

25. 40. li.

111. 188.

189. &c.

Exod. xv.

23.

Joan. 11.

to be
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But *Melanethon* reply'd, and this was his main argument which he ceased not to repeat, that *God's* promise not being made to the *Bread*, but to *Man*, the *Body* of our *Lord* ought not to be in the *Bread* but when *Man* received it. By a like way of arguing it might as well be concluded, that the bitterness of the waters of *Mara* was not corrected, nor the water of *Cana* made wine, but at the time they were drank, these miracles having only been wrought for *Men* who were benefited by them. As then these changes were made in the *Water*, but not for the *Water*, there's no reason we should not likewise own a change in the *Bread* which is not for the *Bread*; there's no reason, why this heavenly *Bread*, as well as the terrestrial, should not be made and prepared before it be eaten; nor can I conceive how *Melanethon* should lay such stress on so pitiful an argument.

XXIX.

These rea-
sons of
Melanc-
thon de-
stroy'd all
Luther's
doctrine.

But the most considerable thing here is, that by this reasoning, he attack'd his master *Luther* no less, than he did the *Catholicks*; for by proving that nothing at all was done in the *Bread*, he proved, that nothing was done in it in any instant, and that the *Body* of our *Lord* is not there, either in

in the *reception*, or out of the *reception*: but that man, to whom this promise is address'd, receives it at the presence of the *Bread*, as at the presence of *Water*, he receives, in *Baptism*, the *Holy Ghost* and sanctifying Grace. *Melancthon* saw well this consequence, as it will appear hereafter: but whether he had the cunning to conceal it then, or *Luther* lookt not so narrowly into it, the hatred he had conceived against the *Mass*, made him pass over all that was advanced in order to destroy it.

Melancthon made use of another argument still weaker than the foregoing ones. He said, that *Jesus Christ* would not be tied; and to bind him to the *Bread*, further than the time of using it, was to take away his *free-will*. How can one think such a thing, and say, that the *free-will* of *Jesus Christ* is destroy'd by a tie that proceeds from his own choice? His word binds him without doubt, because he is faithful and true; but this bond is not less voluntary than inviolable.

This was what human reason opposed against the *Mystery* of *Jesus Christ*; vain subtilties, meer quirks: but a weightier motive lay at the bottom of all this. *Melancthon's* true reason was, because he could not deny but that *Jesus Christ*, placed on the holy table before the *Manducation* and by the sole *Consecration* of the *Bread* and *Wine*, was an object of itself agreeable to *God*, that attested his supreme excellency, that interceded for men, and had all the conditions of a true *Oblation*. In this manner the *Mass* subsisted, neither could it be overthrown, but by overthrowing the *Real Presence* out of the *Manducation*. Accordingly, when *Luther* was told, that *Melancthon* had strenuously denied this Presence at the Conference of *Ratisbon*, *Hospinian* reports, he cried out: *Cheer up, my dear Melancthon: the Mass is now fallen*

XXX.

Melancthon's last reason more weak than all the rest. *Mel. Ep. Sup. cit. Hosp. part. 2. 184. &c. Joan. Sturm. Antip. 4. part. 4.*

XXXI.

Melancthon's true reason was, because he could not separate the *Mass* from the *Real Presence*, were that own'd permanent. *Luther's* saying. *Hosp. p. 180.*

to the ground. *Thou hast destroy'd the mystery which hitherto I had struck at, but in vain.* Thus by the Protestants own confession, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist will ever remain unmoveable, as long as, in these words, *This is my Body*, an effectual presence shall be admitted; and before the *Mass* can be destroy'd, the effect of our Saviour's words must be suspended, their natural sense be taken away, and, *this is*, be changed into, *this shall be*.

XXXII.
Melan-
thon's dis-
simulati-
on. Lu-
ther's nota-
ble letters
in favour
of the per-
manent
Presence.
Tom. iv.
Jen. p.
585. 586.
Ep. Cæ-
lest.

Just. Apol.
2.

Altho' Luther permitted Melancthon to say whatever he pleased against the *Mass*, yet he in no wise departed from his former notions; nor did he reduce the Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist to the bare reception of it: it is even plain, that Melancthon shifted with him on this subject; and there are two of Luther's letters in 1543, wherein he commends a saying of Melancthon's, *that the Presence was in the action of the Supper; but not in a precise and mathematical point.* As for Luther, he determin'd the time to be from the *Pater noster*, which was said in the Lutheran *Mass* immediately after the Consecration, until all the people had communicated and all the remaining particles were consumed. But why stops he there? If at that instant the communion had been carried to the absent, as St. Justin tells us was done in his time, what reason would there have been to say, that Jesus Christ had immediately withdrawn his sacred Presence? But why should he not continue it for some days after, when the holy Sacrament should be reserved for the communion of the sick? 'Tis nothing but meer caprice to take away the Presence of Jesus Christ in this case; and Luther and the Lutherans had no longer any rule, when, out of the actual reception, they admitted the use of it but for never so short a time. But what made still more against 'em is, that the *Mass* and Oblation always remain'd; and had there been but one moment

moment of *Presence* before the *communion*, this *Presence* of *Jesus Christ* could not be deprived of any of the advantages which attended it. For which reason *Melancthon* always aim'd, whatever he might say to *Luther*, at placing the *Presence* in the precise time of the reception alone, and this only way could he find of destroying the *Oblation* and *Mafs*.

Nor was there any other for destroying the *Elevation* and *Adoration*. It has been shewn, that, at taking away the *Elevation*, *Luther*, so far from condemning it, approved the very foundation of it. I repeat once more his words: *The Elevation*, says he, *may be preserved, as a testimonial of the Real and Corporeal Presence: since the doing that, is saying to the people: behold, Christians, this is the Body of Jesus Christ which was given for you.* This was what *Luther* wrote after abolishing the *Elevation*. But why then, one may say, did he abolish it? The reason is worthy of the man, and we learn from himself, *That if he attack'd the Elevation, 'twas only out of spite to the Papacy; and if he retain'd it so long, it was out of spite to Carlostadius.* In a word, concludes he, *it was necessary to retain it when it was rejected as impious, and it was necessary to reject it, when commanded as necessary.* But upon the whole he acknowledged, what indeed is not to be doubted, that there could be no difficulty in shewing to the people this divine Body from the very time it began to be *present*.

As to the *Adoration*, after having one while held it for *indifferent*, and another, laid it down as *necessary*, he at length stuck to this last conclusion; and in the positions, which he publish'd against the *Doctors of Louvain* in 1545, that is a year before his death, he call'd the *Eucharist*, *The adorable Sacrament*. The *Sacramentarian Party*, who had so much triumph'd when he set aside the *Elevation*,

XXXIII.

The elevation irreprehensible according to *Luther's* sentiment. S. n. 24. Parv. Conf.

Ibid.

XXXIV.

The adoration necessary: formally avow'd by *Luther* after many Variations.

Hosp. 14.

M D XLV.

Ad. Art.

Lew. Thest

16.

T. II.

501. Ep.

ad Buc. p.

108.

XXXV.

The Di-

vines of

Wittem-

berg and

Leypfick

own with

Melanc-

thon, that

there's no

avoiding

the sacri-

fice, Tran-

substantia-

tion, and

the Ado-

ration,

but by

changing

Luther's

doctrine.

Elevation, was in a consternation; and *Calvin* wrote, that by this decision *he had raised up the Idol in God's Temple*.

Melancthon was then more than ever convinced, that it was impossible to destroy the *Adoration*, or the *Mass*, without reducing the whole *Real Presence* to the precise moment of the *Manducation*. He saw even, that it was necessary to proceed still further, and that all the points of *Catholic doctrine*, relating to the *Eucharist*, return'd upon them one after another; if they did not find out a way to separate the *Body and Blood* from the *Bread and Wine*. So far did he push that maxim already spoken of, that nothing was done for the *Bread and Wine*, but all for *Man*: insomuch that, in *Man* only was the *Body and Blood* to be found indeed. *Melancthon* has never explain'd in what manner he would have this to be done: but as to the foundation of this doctrine, he never left off insinuating it with great secrecy, and in the most artful manner he was able. For there was no hopes, as long as *Luther* lived, of making him relent on this point, nor of being able to speak freely what one thought: but *Melancthon* so deeply rooted this doctrine in the minds of the *Wittemberg* and *Leypfick-Divines*, that, after *Luther* and he were dead, they plainly explain'd themselves in favour of it in an *assembly*, which, by the *Elector's* orders, they held at *Dresden* in 1561. There they fear'd not to reject *Luther's* proper doctrine, and the *Real Presence* which he admitted in the *Bread*; and finding no other means of defending themselves against *Transubstantiation*, the *Adoration*, and *Sacrifice*; they went over to the *Real Presence* taught them by *Melancthon*; not in the *Bread and Wine*, but in the *faithful* who received them. They declared therefore, *That the true substantial Body was truly and substantially*

Wit. &

Lips.

Theol. Or-

substantially given in the Supper, altho' there was no necessity of saying, that the Bread was the essential Body or the proper Body of Jesus Christ, or corporally and carnally taken by the corporeal mouth; that Ubiquity raised a horror in them; that it was a subject of astonishment, that men should be so positive in affirming, that the Body was present in the Bread, since it was of much more importance to consider, what is done in man, for whom, and not for the Bread, Jesus Christ render'd himself present. After that, they explain'd their sentiments concerning the Adoration, and maintain'd, that it could not be denied, admitting the Real Presence in the Bread, altho' it should even be granted, that the Body is not present in it, except in the actual use; That the Monks would always have the same reason for beseeching the eternal Father to hear them thro' his Son, whom they render'd present in this action; that the Supper having been instituted for the remembrance of Jesus Christ, as he could not be taken, nor remember'd, without believing in, and calling on him, the addressing ones self to him in the Supper as present, and as placing himself in the hands of the sacrificing Priests after the words of Consecration, could by no means be hinder'd. By the same reason, they maintain'd, that admitting this Real Presence of the Body in the Bread, the Sacrifice could not be rejected, and they proved it by this example. It was, said they, the ancient custom of all suppliants, to take in their arms the children of those whose assistance they implored, and present them to their Fathers, in order to prevail with 'em by their interposition. They said in the same manner, that having Jesus Christ present in the Bread and Wine of the Supper, nothing could hinder us from presenting him to his Father in order to render him propitious to us;

and lastly, they concluded, that it *would be much more easy for the Monks to establish their Transubstantiation, than easy for them to combat it, who, rejecting it in word, affirm'd nevertheless, that the Bread was the essential Body, that is, the proper Body of Jesus Christ.*

XXVI.
Luther's
doctrine
immedi-
ately after
his death
chang'd by
the divines
of Wit-
temberg.
Art. vi.
Conc. p.
330.
S. lib. iv.
Parva.
Conf. S. n.
14.

Luther had said at Smalkald, and made the whole Party subscribe to it, that the *Bread* was the true *Body* of our Lord equally received by *Saints* and *Sinners*: he himself had said, in his last *Confession of Faith* approved by the whole Party, that *the Bread of the Eucharist is the true natural Body of our Lord.* Melancthon and all Saxony had received this doctrine with all the rest, for Luther would be obey'd: but after his death, they fell off from it and own'd with us, that these words, *the Bread is the true Body*, import necessarily the change of *Bread* into the *Body*; since, it being impossible for the *Bread* to be the *Body* by nature, it could not become so, but by a *change*; thus they openly rejected their master's doctrine. But they went much further in the above declaration, and confess, that admitting, as Lutherans had hitherto done, the *Real Presence* in the *Bread*; there could be no objection to the *Sacrifice*, which *Catholicks* offer to *God*, nor to the *Adoration* they pay to *Jesus Christ*, in the *Eucharist*.

XXXVII.
No answer-
ing the
arguments
of these
Divines.

Their proofs are convincing. If *Jesus Christ* is believed to be in the *Bread*, if *Faith* lays hold of him in this state, can this *Faith* subsist without *Adoration*? does not this *Faith* itself necessarily imply the highest *Adoration*, since it draws after it the *Invocation* of *Jesus Christ* as *Son of God*, and as there present? The proof of the *Sacrifice* is not less conclusive: for, as these *Divines* say, if, by the *Sacramental* words, *Jesus Christ* is render'd present in the *Bread*, is not this *Presence* of

of *Jesus Christ* of itself agreeable to the *Father*, and can our prayers be sanctified by a more holy *Oblation* than that of *Jesus Christ* present? What do *Catholicks* say more, and what is their *Sacrifice* else but *Jesus Christ* present in the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*, and representing himself to his *Father* the *Victim* by which he had been appeased? There is no way then of avoiding the *Sacrifice*, *Adoration*, and *Transubstantiation*, without denying, in the Bread, this *Real Presence* of *Jesus Christ*.

Thus the *Church of Wittemberg*, the *Mother* of XXXVIII
the *Reformation*, and whence, according to *Cal-*
vin, the light of the *Gospel* proceeded in our days
as it proceeded formerly from *Jerusalem*, no
longer can maintain the sentiments of *Luther* her
first Founder. The whole doctrine of this *Head*
of the *Reformation* contradicts itself: he invinci-
bly establishes the *literal sense* and *Real Presence*,
he rejects the necessary consequences therefrom
maintain'd by *Catholicks*. If, with him, the *Real*
Presence is admitted in the Bread, the whole
Mass, with the *Catholic* doctrine, must of
course be admitted. This seems too grating to
these new *Reformers*; for what good have they
been doing, if they must be forced to approve
these things, with the whole *worship* of the
Church of Rome? but on the other side, what
more chimerical, than a *Real Presence* separated
from the Bread and Wine? Was it not in shewing
the Bread and Wine, that *Jesus Christ* said, *This*
is my Body? has he said, we should receive his
Body and Blood divided from those things, where-
in 'twas his pleasure they should be contain'd; and
if we are to receive the *proper Substance* of them,
must it not be after such a manner as he has de-
clared at the *institution* of this *Mystery*? In these
inextricable straits, the desire of abolishing the

The Wit-
temberg-
Divines
return to
Luther's
sentiment,
and why?
The Ca-
tholicks
alone have
a confi-
dent doc-
trine.
Ep. Calv.
p. 590.

Mass prevailed; but the method, which *Melanchthon* and the *Saxons* had taken to accomplish it, was so bad, that it could not subsist. Those of *Wittemberg* and *Leypsick* themselves soon after came back, and *Luther's* opinion, which placed the *Body* in the *Bread*, kept its ground.

XXXIX.

Luther
more furi-
ous than
ever to-
wards the
end of his
days: his
transports
against the
Doctors of
Louvain.

Cont. Art.
Low. Thes.
28.

Whilst this *Head* of the *Reformers* drew near his end, he daily became more and more furious. His *Theses* against the *Doctors* of *Louvain* are a proof of it; I never can believe that his disciples will behold, without shame, the prodigious exorbitances of his mind even to the last period of his life. Sometimes he plays the buffoon, but in the lowest way imaginable, and fills his *Theses* with these wretched *equivokes*: *vaccultas*, instead of *facultas*; *cacolyca Ecclesia*, instead of *Catholica*; because he finds in these two words *vaccultas*, and *cacolyca*, a frigid illusion with *kine*, *wicked men*, and *wolves*. To scoff at the custom of calling *Doctors* our *masters*, he always styles those of *Louvain*, *Nostrolli Magistrolli*, *bruta Magistrollia*; persuaded, he makes them very odious, or contemptible, by these ridiculous diminutives of his own coining. When he has a mind to speak more seriously, he calls these *Doctors*, *Down-right Beasts*, *Hogs*, *Epicureans*, *Pagans*, and *Atheists*, that are unacquainted with any other repentance but that of *Judas* and *Saul*, who do not take from *Scripture*, but from the doctrine of men, all they vomit out; and adds, what I dare not translate, *quidquid ructant, vomunt, & cacant*. Thus did he forget all kind of shame, and valued not the making himself a publick laughing-stock, provided he drove all to extremes against his adversaries.

XL.
His last
sentiments

He treated the *Zuinglians* no better, and besides what he had said of the *adorable Sacrament*, which utterly destroy'd their doctrine, he declar'd seriously,

seriously, that he held them for *Hereticks* and shut out of the *pale of God's Church*. He wrote at the same time the famous letter, wherein, upon the *Zuinglians* having call'd him unhappy wretch, *They have done me a great pleasure*, says he: *I therefore, the most unhappy of all men, esteem myself happy for one thing only, and covet no other beatitude than that of the Psalmist: happy is the man, that hath not been in the council of the Sacramentarians, and hath never walk'd in the ways of the Zuinglians, nor sat in the chair of those of Zurick.* Melancthon and his friends were ashamed of these extravagances of their master. There were secret murmurings in the Party, but none durst speak out. If the *Sacramentarians* complain'd of *Luther's* transports to Melancthon and those, who were better affected towards them, they answer'd, *That he softned the expressions in his books, by his familiar discourses, and comforted them, for that their master, when he was heated, spoke more than he meant to speak; the which, said they, was a great inconvenience, but what they could not help.*

concerning
the *Zuinglians*.

Hosp. 199.

Ep. Cru-
sig. ad. Vit.
Theod.
Hosp. 194.
199. &c.

The above letter was of the twenty fifth of *January* 1546. The eighteenth of *February* following *Luther* died. The *Zuinglians*, who could not refuse him praises without ruining the *Reformation* he was the author of; to comfort themselves for the implacable enmity he had shew'd against them even to his death, spread abroad some conversations he had held with his friends, wherein, they pretend, he was much mitigated. These accounts carried no shew of truth; but truly, whether they did or no, 'tis of little importance to the design of this work. I write not on private conversations, but *Acts* only and Publick Works; and if *Luther* had given these new instances of his in-

XLI.
Luther's
death.
M D XLVI.

constancy, it would, however, be the *Lutherans* business to furnish us wherewith to defend him.

XLII. To omit nothing of what I know concerning this fact, I shall observe moreover, that I find in Mr. Burnet's history of the *English Reformation*, a letter of *Luther's* to *Bucer*, which is given us under this title: *A paper concerning a reconciliation with the Zuinglians.* * This piece of Mr. Burnet's if consider'd, not in the extract which this artful Historian makes of it in his history, but as it is in his *collection of Records*, will set forth the extravagances that pass in the minds of innovators. *Luther* begins with this remark, *That it must not be said, they understand not one another.* This is what *Bucer* always pretended, that their disputes were only on words, and they understood not one another: but *Luther* could not away with such an illusion. In the second place he proposes a new thought to reconcile the two opinions: it is fitting, says he, that the defenders of the figurative sense allow, that *Jesus Christ is truly present*: and we, proceeds he, will grant that the Bread alone is eaten: *Panem solum manducari.* He does not say, we will grant, *That in the Sacrament there is truly Bread and Wine*, as Mr. Burnet has translated it; for that had not been a new opinion, such as *Luther* here promises. It's well known that *Consubstantiation*, which admits both the Bread and Wine in the *Sacrament*, had been received in *Lutheranism* from its first beginning.

* The author was not apprised, that Bishop Burnet had falsified this record by changing *Nil minus* into *Nilominus*. This he was first charged with, and the fact proved against him, by Dr. Hicks. In the latter editions of his history the fault is corrected in the *collection of Records*, tho' his inferences from it still remain in the body of his work.

But the new thing he proposes is, that altho' the *Body and Blood* be truly present, nevertheless *there is nothing eaten but the Bread alone*: so absurd a refinement, that Mr. *Burnet* could not hide the absurdity of it any other way, than by suppressing it. But there is no need of troubling ones self to find out sense in this new project of agreement. After having proposed it as *useful*, *Luther* turns short, and considering *what an inlet would thereby be open'd to new questions tending to introduce Epicurism*, No, says he, *it's better leaving these two opinions just as they are*, than proceed to new explications, which, *far from making them pass on mankind, would indeed only serve to exasperate them the more*. Finally, to stifle this dissension, which, he says, *he would have redeem'd with his Body and Blood*, he declares on his side, that he's willing to believe his adversaries *are sincere*. He demands they would believe as much of him, and concludes for mutually bearing with one another, without specifying in what manner that was to be done: so that he seems to mean nothing else by it, than abstaining from writing and giving one another abusive language, as had already been agreed upon, but with very little success, at the conference of *Marpurg*. This is all that *Bucer* could obtain for the *Zuinglians*, even when *Luther* was in his best humour, and probably, during those years when there was a kind of suspension of arms. However that may be, he soon returns to his old temper; and for fear the *Sacramentarians* should endeavour, after his death, to wrest him by their equivocations to their own sentiments, towards the end of his life, he made those declarations against 'em we have already seen, leaving his disciples as much animated against 'em, as he himself had been.

R E C O R D S

*Concerning the second Marriage of the LAND-
GRAVE spoken of in this Book VI.*

I N S T R U C T I O.

Quid Doctor MARTINUS BUCER apud
Doctorem MARTINUM LUTHERUM, &
PHILIPPIUM MELANCTHONEM solici-
tare debeat, &, si id ipsis rectum vi-
debitur, postmodum apud Electorem
SAXONIÆ.

I. **P** R I M O ipsis gratiam & fausta meo no-
mine denunciaret, & si corpore animoque
adhuc benè valerent, quod id libenter
intelligerem. Deinde incipiendo quòd ab eo tem-
pore quo me noster Dominus Deus infirmitate vi-
sitavit, varia apud me considerassem, & præfer-
tim quod in me repererim quòd ego ab aliquo
tempore, quo uxorem duxi, in adulterio & for-
nicatione jacuerim. Quia verò ipsi & mei Prædi-
cantes sæpè me adhortati sunt ut ad Sacramentum
accederem: Ego autem apud me talem præfatam
vitam deprehendi, nullâ bonâ conscientia aliquot
annis ad Sacramentum accedere potui. Nam quia
talem vitam DESERERE NOLO, quâ bonâ con-
scientia possem ad mensam Domini accedere? Et
sciebam per hoc non aliter quàm ad iudicium Do-
mini, & non ad Christianam confessionem me
perventurum. Ulteriùs legi in Paulo pluribus quàm
uno locis, quomodo nullus fornicator, nec adul-
ter regnum Dei possidebit. Quia verò apud me
deprehendi quòd apud meam uxorem præsentem
à fornicatione ac luxuria, atque adulterio abstinere
non

non possim: nisi ab hac vitâ desistam, & ad emendationem me convertam, nihil certius habeo expectandum quàm exhæredationem à regno Dei & æternam damnationem. Causæ autem, quare à fornicatione, adulterio, & his similibus abstinere non possim apud hanc meam præsentem uxorem sunt istæ.

II. Primò quòd initio, quo eam duxi, nec animo nec desiderio eam complexus fuerim. Quali ipsa quoque complexione, amabilitate, & odore sit, & quomodo interdum se superfluo potu gerat, hoc sciunt ipsius aulæ Præfecti, & Virgines, alique plures: cumque ad ea describenda difficultatem habeam, Bucero tamen omnia declaravi.

III. Secundò, quia validâ complexione, ut medici sciunt, sum, & sæpè contingit ut in fœderum & Imperii comitiis diu verfer, ubi lautè vivitur & corpus curatur; quomodo me ibi gerere queam absque uxore, cum non semper magnum Gynæceum mecum ducere possim, facile est conjicere & considerare.

IV. Si porrò diceretur quare meam uxorem duxerim, verè imprudens homo tunc temporis fui, & ab aliquibus meorum Consiliariorum, quorum potior pars defuncta est, ad id persuasus sum. Matrimonium meum ultra tres septimanas non servavi, & sic constanter perrexì.

V. Ulteriùs me Concionatores constanter urgent, ut scelera puniam, fornicationem, & alia; quod etiam libenter facerem: quomodo autem scelera, quibus ipsemet immerfus sum, puniam, ubi omnes dicerent, MAGISTER, PRIUS TE IPSUM PUNI? Jam si deberem in rebus evangelicæ confœderationis bellare, tunc id semper malâ conscientia facerem & cogitarem: Si tu in hac vitâ gladio, vel sclopeto, vel alio modo occubueris, ad Dæmonem perges. Sæpe Deum interrà invocavi, & rogavi: sed semper idem remansi.

VI.

VI. Nunc verò diligenter consideravi scripturas antiqui & novi Testamenti, & quantum mihi gratiæ Deus dedit, studiosè perlegi, & ibi nullum aliud consilium nec medium invenire potui; cum videam quod ab hoc agendi modo penes modernam uxorem meam **NEC POSSIM, NEC VELIM** abstinere (quod coram Deo testor) quàm talia media adhibendo, quæ à Deo permixta nec prohibita sunt. Quod pii Patres ut Abraham, Jacob, David, Lamech, Salomon, & alii, plures quàm unam uxorem habuerint, & in eundem Christum crediderint, in quem nos credimus, quemadmodum S. Paulus ad Cor. X. ait; Et prætereà Deus in veteri Testamento tales Sanctos valdè laudârit: Christus quoque eosdem in novo Testamento valdè laudat, insuper lex Moïsis permittit, si quis duas uxores habeat, quomodo se in hoc gerere debeat.

VII. Et si objiceretur, Abrahamo & antiquis concessum fuisse propter Christum promissum, invenitur tamen clarè quòd Lex Moïsis permittat, & in eo neminem specificet ac dicat, utrum duæ uxores habendæ, & sic neminem excludit. Et si Christus solùm promissus sit stemmati Judæ, & nihilominus Samuelis pater, Rex Achab & alii, plures uxores habuerunt, qui tamen non sunt de stemmate Judæ. Idcirco hoc, quod istis id solùm permissum fuerit propter Messiam, stare non potest.

VIII. Cum igitur nec Deus in antiquo, nec Christus in novo Testamento, nec Prophetæ, nec Apostoli prohibeant, ne vir duas uxores habere possit; nullus quoque Propheta, vel Apostolus propterea Reges, Principes, vel alias personas punierit aut vituperârit, quòd duas uxores in matrimonio simul habuerint, neque pro crimine aut peccato, vel quòd Dei regnum non consequentur, judicârit; cum tamen Paulus multos indicet qui
regnum

regnum Dei non consequentur, & de his qui duas uxores habent, nullam omnino mentionem faciat. Apostoli quoque cùm gentibus indicarent quomodo se gerere, & à quibus abstinere deberent, ubi illos primò ad fidem receperant, uti in Actis Apostolorum est; de hoc etiam nihil prohibuerunt, quòd non duas uxores in matrimonio habere possent; cùm tamen multi Gentiles fuerint qui plures quàm unam uxorem habuerunt: Judæis quoque prohibitum non fuit, quia lex illud permittebat, & est omninò apud aliquos in usu. Quando igitur Paulus clarè nobis dicit oportere Episcopum esse unius uxoris virum, similiter & Ministrum: absque necessitate fecisset, si quis tantùm unam uxorem deberet habere, quod id ita præcepisset & plures uxores habere prohibuisset.

IX. Et post hæc ad hunc diem usque in orientalibus regionibus aliqui Christiani sunt, qui duas uxores in matrimonio habent. Item Valentinianus Imperator, quem tamen Historici, Ambrosius, & alii Docti laudant, ipsemet duas uxores habuit, legem quoque edi curavit; quòd alii duas uxores habere possent.

X. Item, licèt quod sequitur non multùm curem, Papa ipsemet Comiti cuidam, qui sanctum sepulchrum invisit, & intellexerat uxorem suam mortuam esse, & ideò aliam vel adhuc unam acceperat, concessit ut is utramque retinere posset. Item scio Lutherum & Philippum Regi Angliæ suasse, ut primam uxorem non dimitteret, sed aliam præter ipsam duceret quemadmodum *præter propter* consilium sonat. Quando verò in contrarium opponeretur, quòd ille nullum masculum hæredem ex primâ habuerit, judicamus nos plus hic concedi oportere causæ quam Paulus dat, unumquemque debere uxorem habere propter fornicationem. Nam utique plus situm est in bonâ conscientia,

conscientiâ, salute animæ, christianâ vitâ, abstractione ab ignominiâ & inordinatâ luxuriâ, quàm in eo ut quis hæredes vel nullos habeat. Nam omninò plus animæ quam res temporales curandæ sunt.

XI. Itaque hæc omnia me permoverunt, ut mihi proposuerim, quia id cum Deo fieri potest, sicut non dubito, abstinere à fornicatione, & omni impudicitâ, & viâ, quam Deus permittit, uti. Nam diutius in vinculis diaboli constrictus perseverare non intendo, & aliàs absque hac viâ me præservare NEC POSSUM, NEC VOLO. Quare hæc sit mea ad Lutherum, Philippum & ipsum Bucerum petitio, ut mihi testimonium dare velint, si hoc facerem, illud illicitum non esse.

XII. Casu quo autem id ipsi hoc tempore propter scandalum, & quod Evangelicæ rei fortassis præjudicare aut nocere posset, publicè typis mandare non vellent; petitionem tamen meam esse, ut mihi scripto testimonium dent: si id occultò facerem me per id non contra Deum egisse, & quod ipsi etiam id pro matrimonio habere, & cum tempore viam inquirere velint, quomodo res hæc publicanda in mundum, & quâ ratione persona quam ducturus sum, non pro inhonestâ, sed etiam pro honestâ habenda sit. Considerare enim possent, quòd aliàs personæ quam ducturus sum graviter accideret, si illa pro tali habenda esset quæ non Christianè vel inhonestè ageret. Postquam etiam nihil occultum remanet, si constanter ita permanerem, & communis Ecclesia nesciret quomodo huic personæ cohabitarem, utique hæc quoque tractu temporis scandalum causaret.

XIII. Item non metuant quòd propterea, etsi aliam uxorem acciperem, meam modernam uxorem malè tractare, nec cum eâ dormire; vel minorem amicitiam ei exhibere velim, quàm antea feci: sed me velle in hoc casu crucem portare, & eidem

eidem omne bonum præstare, neque ab eadem abstinere. Volo etiam filios, quos ex primâ uxore suscepi, Principes regionis relinquere, & reliquis aliis honestis rebus prospicere; esse proinde adhuc semel petitionem meam, ut per Deum in hoc mihi consulant, & me juvent in iis rebus, quæ non sunt contra Deum, ut hilari animo vivere & mori, atque Evangelicas causas omnes eò liberius, & magis Christianè suscipere possim. Nam quidquid me jusserint quod Christianum & rectum sit, SIVE MONASTERIORUM BONA, seu alia concernat, ibi me promptum reperient.

XIV. Vellem quoque & desidero non plures quàm tantum unam uxorem ad istam modernam uxorem meam. Item ad mundum vel mundanum fructum hâc in re non nimis attendendum est; sed magis Deus respiciendus, & quod hic præcipit, prohibet, & liberum relinquit. Nam Imperator & mundus me & quemcunque permittent, ut publicè meretrices retineamus; sed plures quàm unam uxorem non faciliè concesserint. Quod Deus permittit hoc ipsi prohibent: quod Deus prohibet, hoc dissimulant, & videtur mihi sicut matrimonium Sacerdotum. Nam Sacerdotibus nullas uxores concedunt, & meretrices retinere ipsis permittunt. Item Ecclesiastici nobis adeò infensi sunt, ut propter hunc articulum quo plures Christianis uxores permetteremus, nec plus nec minus nobis facturi sint.

XV. Item Philippo & Luthero postmodum indicabit, si apud illos, præter omnem tamen opinionem meam, de illis nullam opem inveniam; tum me varias cogitationes habere in animo: quod velim apud Cæsarem pro hâc re instare per mediatores, etsi multis mihi pecuniis constaret, quod Cæsar absque Pontificis dispensatione non faceret; quamvis etiam Pontificum dispensationem omninò nihili faciam: verum Cæsaris permissio

permissio mihi omninò non esset contemnenda ; quam Cæsaris permissionem omninò non curarem, nisi scirem quòd propositi mei rationem coram Deo haberem, & certius esset Deum id permisisse quàm prohibuisse.

XVI. Verùm nihilominus ex humano metu, si apud hanc partem nullum solatium invenire possem, Cæsareum consensum obtinere, uti insinuatum est, non esset contemnendum. Nam apud me judicabam si aliquibus Cæsaris Consiliariis egregias pecuniæ summas donarem, me omnia ab ipsis impetraturum : sed prætereà timebam, quamvis propter nullam rem in terrâ ab Evangelio deficere, vel cum divinâ ope me permittere velim induci ad aliquid quod Evangelicæ causæ contrarium esse posset : ne Cæsareani tamen me in aliis sæcularibus negotiis ita uterentur & obligarent ut isti causæ & parti non foret utile : esse idcirco adhuc petitionem meam, ut me aliàs juvent, ne cogar rem in iis locis quærere, ubi id non libentè facio, & quod millies libentiùs ipsorum permissioni, quam cum Deo & bonâ conscientiâ facere possunt, confidere velim, quàm Cæsareæ vel ALIIS HUMANIS permissionibus : quibus tamen non ulterius confiderem nisi antecederet in divinâ Scripturâ fundatæ essent, uti superius est declaratum.

XVII. Denique iteratò est mea petitio ut Lutherus, Philippus, & Bucerus mihi hâc in re scripto opinionem suam velint aperire, ut postea vitam meam emendare, bonâ conscientiâ ad Sacramentum accedere, & omnia negotia nostræ Religionis eò liberiùs & confidentiùs agere possim.

Datum Melsingæ Dominicâ post Catharinæ Anno 1539.

PHILIPPUS LANDGRAFFIUS HASSIÆ.

The

*The CONSULTATION of LUTHER and
the other PROTESTANT DOCTORS,
concerning POLYGAMY.*

*To the most serene Prince and Lord PHILIP
LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, Count of Cat-
zenlembogen, of Diets, of Ziegenhain,
and Nidda, our gracious Lord, we wish
above all things the Grace of God thro'
Jesus Christ.*

Most serene PRINCE and LORD,

I. **P**OSTQUAM
vestra Celsitudo
per Dominum
Bucerum diuturnas con-
scientiæ suæ molestias,
nonnullas simulque con-
siderationes indicari cu-
ravit, addito scripto seu
Instructione quam illi
vestra Celsitudo tradi-
dit; licet ita properan-
ter expedire responsum
difficile sit, nolimus ta-
men Dominum Buce-
rum, reditum utique
maturantem, sine scripto
dimittere.

II. Imprimis sumus
ex animo recreati, &
Deo gratias agimus,
quod vestram Celsitudi-

I. **W**E have been
inform'd by
Bucer, and in
the instruction which your
Highness gave him, have
read, the trouble of mind,
and the uneasiness of con-
science your Highness is
under at this present;
and altho' it seem'd to
us very difficult so spee-
dily to answer the doubts
proposed; nevertheless we
would not permit the said
Bucer, who was urgent
for his return to your
Highness, to go away
without an answer in
writing.

II. It has been a sub-
ject of the greatest joy to
us, and we have praised
God, for that he has re-
nem

nem difficili morbo liberaverit, petimusque, ut Deus Celsitudinem vestram in corpore & animo confortare & conservare dignetur.

cover'd your Highness from a dangerous fit of sickness, and we pray that he will long continue this blessing of perfect health both in body and mind.

III. Nam prout Celsitudo vestra videt, paupercula & misera Ecclesia est exigua & derelicta, indigens probis Dominis Regentibus, sicut non dubitamus Deum aliquos conservatorum, quantumvis tentationes diversae occurrant.

III. Your Highness is not ignorant how great need our poor, miserable, little, and abandon'd Church stands in of virtuous Princes and Rulers to protect her; and we doubt not but God will always supply her with some such, altho', from time to time, he threatens to deprive her of them, and proves her by sundry temptations.

IV. Circa quaestionem quam nobis Bucerus proposuit, haec nobis occurrunt consideratione digna: Celsitudo vestra per se ipsam satis perspicit quantum differant universalem legem condere, vel in certo casu gravibus de causis ex concessione divina, dispensatione uti; nam contra Deum locum non habet dispensatio.

IV. These things seem to us of greatest importance in the question which Bucer has proposed to us: Your Highness sufficiently of yourself comprehends the difference there is betwixt settling an universal law, and using (for urgent reasons and with God's permission) a dispensation in a particular case: for it is otherwise evident that no dispensations can take place against the first of all laws, the divine law.

V.

V. Nunc suadere non possumus, ut introducatur publicè; & velut lege sanciat permissio plures quàm unam, uxores ducendi. Si aliquid hac de re prælo committeretur, facilè intelligit vestra Celsitudo, id præcepti instar intellectum & acceptatum iri, unde multa scandala & difficultates orirentur. Consideret, quæsumus, Celsitudo vestra quàm sinistrè acciperetur, si quis convinceretur hanc legem in Germaniam introduxisse, quæ æternarum litium & inquietudinum (quod timendum) futurum esset seminarium.

VI. Quod opponi potest, quod coram Deo æquum est id omninò permittendum, hoc certà ratione & conditione est accipiendum. Si res est mandata & necessaria, verum est quod obijcitur; si nec mandata, nec necessaria sit, alias circumstantias oportet expendere, ut ad propositam questionem propius accedamus: Deus matrimonium instituit ut

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V. *We cannot at present advise to introduce publickly, and establish as a law in the New Testament, that of the Old, which permitted to have more wives than one. Your Highness is sensible, should any such thing be printed, that it would be taken for a precept, whence infinite troubles and scandals would arise. We beg your Highness to consider the dangers a man would be exposed unto, who should be convicted of having brought into Germany such a law, which would divide families, and involve them in endless strifes and disturbances.*

VI. *As to the objection that may be made, that what is just in God's sight, ought absolutely to be permitted, it must be answer'd in this manner. If that which is just before God, be besides commanded and necessary, the objection is true: if it be neither necessary nor commanded, other circumstances, before it be permitted, must be attended to; and to come to*

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tantum

tantum duarum & non plurium personarum esset societas, si natura non esset corrupta; hoc intendit illa sententia: *Erunt duo in carne unâ*, idque primitus fuit observatum.

VII. Sed Lamech pluralitatem uxorum in matrimonium invexit, quod de illo Scriptura memorat tanquam introductum contra primam regulam.

VIII. Apud infideles tamen fuit consuetudine receptum; postea Abraham quoque & posterius ejus plures duxerunt uxores. Certum est hoc postmodum lege Moysis permissum fuisse, teste Scripturâ, Deuter. 2. 1. 1. ut homo haberet duas uxores: nam Deus fragili naturæ aliquid indulgit. Cum verò principio & creationi consentaneum sit unicâ uxore contentum vivere, hujusmodi lex est laudabilis, & ab Ecclesiâ acceptanda, non lex huic contraria statuenda;

the question in hand: God hath instituted marriage to be a society of two persons and no more, supposing nature were not corrupted; and this is the sense of that text of Genesis, There shall be two in one flesh, and this was observed at the beginning.

VII. Lamech was the first that married many wives, and the Scripture witnesses that this custom was introduced contrary to the first Institution.

VIII. It nevertheless passed into custom among infidel nations; and we even find afterwards, that Abraham and his posterity had many wives. It is also certain from Deuteronomy, that the law of Moses permitted it afterwards, and that God made an allowance for frail nature. Since it is then suitable to the creation of men, and to the first establishment of their society, that each one be content with one wife; it thence follows that the law injoining it, is praise-worthy; that it
nam

nam Christus repetit hanc sententiam: *Erunt duo in carne unâ*, Matth. xix. & in memoriam revocat quale matrimonium ante humanam fragilitatem esse debuisset.

ought to be received in the Church; and no law contrary thereto, be introduced into it, because Jesus Christ has repeated in the nineteenth Chapter of St. Matthew that text of Genesis, There shall be two in one flesh: and brings to mans remembrance what marriage ought to have been, before it degenerated from its purity.

IX. Certis tamen casibus locus est dispensationi. Si quis apud exteras nationes captivus ad curam corporis & sanitatem, inibi alteram uxorem superinduceret; vel si quis haberet leprosam; his casibus alteram ducere cum consilio sui Pastoris, non intentione novam legem inducendi, sed suæ necessitati consulendi, hunc nescimus, quâ ratione damnare liceret.

IX. All this notwithstanding, there is room for dispensation in certain cases. For example, if a married man, detain'd captive in a distant country should there take a second wife, in order to preserve, or recover his health, or that his own became leprous, we see not how we could condemn, in these cases, such a man, as by the advice of his Pastor, should take another wife, provided it were not with a design of introducing a new law, but with an eye only to his own particular necessities.

X. Cum igitur aliud sit inducere legem, aliud uti dispensatione, ob-

X. Since then the introducing a new law, and the using a dispensa-

secramus vestram Celsitudinem sequentia velit considerare.

Primo ante omnia cavendum, ne hæc res inducatur in orbem ad modum legis, quam sequendi libera omnium sit potestas. Deinde considerare dignetur vestra Celsitudo scandalum nimium, quod Evangelii hostes exclamaturi sint, nos similes esse Anabaptistis, qui simul plures duxerunt uxores. Item Evangelicos eam sectari libertatem plures simul ducendi, quæ in Turciâ in usu est.

XI. Item Principum facta latius spargi quàm privatorum consideret.

XII. Item consideret privatas personas, hujusmodi principum facta audientes, facilè eadem sibi permissa persuadere, prout apparet talia facilè irreperere.

tion with respect to the same law, are two very different things, we intreat your Highness to take, what follows, into consideration.

In the first place, above all things, care must be taken, that plurality of wives be not introduced into the world by way of Law, for every man to follow as he thinks fit. In the second place, may it please your Highness, to reflect on the dismal scandal, which would not fail to happen, if occasion be given to the enemies of the Gospel, to exclaim, that we are like the Anabaptists, who have several wives at once, and the Turks, who take as many wives as they are able to maintain.

XI. *In the third place, that the actions of Princes are placed in a fuller light, than those of private men.*

XII. *Fourthly, that inferiors are no sooner inform'd, what their Superiors do, but they imagine they may do the same, and by that means licentiousness becomes universal.*

XIII.

XIII. Item considerandum Celsitudinem vestram abundare nobilitate efferi spiritûs, in quâ multi, uti in aliis quoque terris sint, qui propter amplos proveniunt, quibus ratione Cathedralium beneficiorum perfruuntur, valdè Evangelio adversantur. Non ignoramus ipsi magnorum nobilium valdè insulsa dicta; & qualem se nobilitas & subdita ditio erga Celsitudinem vestram sit præbitura, si publica introductio fiat, haud difficile est arbitrari.

XIV. Item Celsitudo vestra, quæ Dei singularis est gratia, apud Reges & potentes etiam externos magno est in honore & respectu; apud quos meritò est, quòd timeat ne hæc res pariat nominis diminutionem. Cum igitur hîc multa scandala confluant, rogamus Celsitudinem vestram, ut hanc rem maturo judicio expendere velit.

XIII. *Fifthly, that your Highness's estates are fill'd with an untractable Nobility for the most part very averse to the Gospel, on account of the hopes they are in, as in other countries, of obtaining the benefices of Cathedral Churches, the revenues whereof are very great. We know the impertinent discourses vented by the most illustrious of your Nobility, and it's easily seen, how they and the rest of your subjects would be disposed, in case your Highness should authorize such a novelty.*

XIV. *Sixthly, that your Highness by the singular grace of God, hath a great reputation in the Empire and foreign countries; and 'tis to be fear'd, lest the execution of this project of a double marriage, should greatly diminish this esteem and respect. The concurrence of such a number of scandals obliges us, to beseech your Highness to examine the thing with all the maturity of judgment God has endow'd you with.*

XV. Illud quoque est verum quòd Celsitudinem vestram omni modo rogamus & hortamur, ut fornicationem & adulterium fugiat. Habuimus quoque, ut, quod res est, loquamur, longo tempore non parvum moerorem, quòd intellexerimus vestram Celsitudinem ejusmodi impuritate oneratam, quam divina ultio, morbi, aliaque pericula sequi possent.

XVI. Etiam rogamus Celsitudinem vestram ne talia extra matrimonium, levia peccata velit aestimare, sicut mundus hæc ventis tradere & parvi pendere solet: Verùm Deus impudicitiam sæpè severissimè punivit: nam poena diluvii tribuitur Regentum adulteriis. Item adulterium Davidis est severum vindictæ divinæ exemplum, & Paulus sæpiùs ait: Deus non irridetur. Adulteri non introibunt in regnum Dei: nam fidei obedientia comes esse debet, ut non contra conscientiam agamus,

XV. *With no less earnestness do we intreat your Highness, by all means, to avoid fornication and adultery; and, to own the truth sincerely, we have a long time been sensibly grieved, to see your Highness abandon'd to such impurities, which might be follow'd by the effects of the divine vengeance, distempers, and many other dangerous consequences.*

XVI. *We also beg of your Highness not to entertain a notion, that the use of women out of marriage is but a light and trifling fault, as the world is used to imagine; since God hath often chastised impurity with the most severe punishment; and that of the Deluge is attributed to the adulteries of the great ones: and the adultery of David has afforded a terrible instance of the divine vengeance: and St. Paul repeats frequently, that God is not mock'd with impunity, and that adulterers shall not enter into the kingdom of God. For*

I Timoth.

1 Timoth. iii. Si cor nostrum non reprehenderit nos, possumus læti Deum invocare; & Rom. viii. Si carnalia desideria spiritu mortificaverimus, vivemus; si autem secundum carnem ambulemus: hoc est, si contra conscientiam agamus, moriemur.

it is said in the second Chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, that obedience must be the companion of faith, in order to avoid acting against conscience; and in the third Chapter of the first of St. John; if our heart condemn us not, we may call upon the name of God with joy; and in the eighth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, if by the spirit we mortify the desires of the flesh, we shall live: but on the contrary, shall die, if we walk according to the flesh, that is, if we act against our own consciences.

XVII. Hæc referimus, ut consideret Deum ob talia vitia non ridere, prout aliqui audaces faciunt, & ethnicas cogitationes animo fovant. Libenter quoque intelleximus vestram Celsitudinem ob ejusmodi vitia angere & conqueri. Incumbunt Celsitudini vestrae negotia totum mundum concernentia. Accedit Celsitudinis vestrae complexio subtilis, & mini-

XVII. *We have related these passages, to the end that your Highness may consider seriously, that God looks not on the vice of impurity as a laughing matter, as is supposed by those audacious Libertines, who entertain heathenish notions on this subject. We are pleased to find that your Highness is troubled with remorse of conscience, for these disorders. The management of the*

mè robusta, ac pauci somni, unde meritò corpori parcendum esset, quemadmodum multi alii facere coguntur.

XVIII. Legitur de laudatissimo Principe Scanderbego, qui multa præclara facinora patravit contra duos Turcarum Imperatores, Amurathem & Mahometem, & Græciam dum viveret, feliciter tuitus est, ac conservavit. Hic suos milites sæpius ad castimoniam hortari auditus est, & dicere, nullam rem fortibus viris æquè animos demere ac Venerem. Item quòd si vestra Celситudo insuper alteram uxorem haberet, & nollet pravis affectibus & consuetudinibus repugnare, adhuc non esset vestræ Celситudini consultum ac prospectum. Oportet unumquemque in exter-

most important affairs in the world, is now incumbent on your Highness: who is of a very delicate and tender complexion: sleeps but little; and these reasons, which have obliged so many prudent persons to manage their constitutions, are more than sufficient to prevail with your Highness to imitate them.

XVIII. We read of the incomparable Scanderbeg, who so frequently defeated the two most powerful Emperors of the Turks, Amurat II. and Mahomet II. and whilst alive, preserved Greece from their tyranny: that he often exhorted his soldiers to chastity, and said to them, that there was nothing so hurtful to men of their profession, as venereal pleasures. And if your Highness, after marrying a second wife, were not to forsake those licentious disorders, the remedy proposed would be to no purpose. Every one ought to be master of his own body in external actions, and see, according to the
nis

nis istis suorum membrorum esse dominum, uti Paulus scribit: Curate ut membra vestra sint arma justitiæ. Quare vestra Celsitudo in consideratione aliarum causarum, nempe scandalii, curarum, laborum ac sollicitudinum, & corporis infirmitatis velit hanc rem æquâ lance perpendere, & simul in memoriam revocare, quòd Deus ei ex modernâ conjugē pulchram sobolem utriusque sexûs dederit, ita ut contentus hâc esse possit. Quot alii in suo matrimonio debent patientiam exercere ad vitandum scandalum? Nobis non sedet animo Celsitudinem vestram ad tam difficilem novitatem impellere, aut inducere; nam ditio vestræ Celsitudinis, alii que nos impeterent, quod nobis eò minus ferendum esset, quòd ex præcepto divino nobis incumbat matrimonium, omniaque humana ad divinam institutionem dirigere, atque in eâ quoad possibile,

expression of St. Paul, that his members be the arms of justice. May it please your Highness therefore impartially to examine the considerations of scandal, of labours, of care, of trouble and of distempers, which have been represented. And at the same time remember that God has given you a numerous issue of such beautiful children of both sexes by the Princess your wife, that you have reason to be satisfied therewith. How many others, in marriage, are obliged to the exercise and practice of patience, from the motive only of avoiding scandal? We are far from pushing on your Highness to introduce so difficult a novelty into your family. By so doing, we should draw upon ourselves not only the reproaches and persecution of those of Hesse, but of all other people. The which would be so much the less supportable to us, as God commands us in the ministry which we exercise, as much as we are able, to regulate
conservare,

conservare, omneque scandalum removere.

marriage, and all the other duties of human life according to the divine Institution, and maintain them in that state, and remove all kind of scandal.

XIX. Is jam est mos sæculi, ut culpa omnis in Prædicatores confertur, si quid difficultatis incidat; & humanum cor in summæ & inferioris conditionis hominibus instabile, unde diversa pertimescenda.

XIX. 'Tis now customary among worldlings, to lay the blame of every thing upon the Preachers of the Gospel. The heart of man is equally fickle in the more elevated and lower stations of life; and much have we to fear on that score.

XX. Si autem vestra Celситudo ab impudicâ vitâ non abstineat, quod dicit sibi impossibile, optaremus Celситudinem vestram in meliori statu esse coram Deo, & securâ conscientiâ vivere ad propriæ animæ salutem, & ditionum ac subditorum emolumentum.

XX. As to what your Highness says, that it is not possible for you to abstain from this impure life as long as you shall have but one wife, we wish you were in a better state before God, that you lived with a secure conscience and labour'd for the salvation of your own soul, and gave better example to your subjects.

XXI. Quòd si denique vestra Celситudo omninò concluderit, adhuc unam conjugem ducere, judicamus id secretò faciendum, ut superiùs de dispensatione dic-

XXI. But after all, if your Highness is fully resolved to marry a second wife; we judge it ought to be done secretly, as we have said with respect to the dispensation demand-

tum, nempè ut tantum
vestræ Celsitudini, illi
personæ, ac paucis per-
sonis fidelibus constet
Celsitudinis vestræ ani-
mus, & conscientia sub
figillo confessionis. Hinc
non sequuntur alicujus
momenti contradic-
tiones aut scandala. Nihil
enim est inusitati Princi-
pes concubinas alere; &
quamvis non omnibus è
plebe constaret rei ratio,
tamen prudentiores in-
telligerent, & magis
placeret hæc moderata
vivendi ratio, quam
adulterium & alii bellu-
ini & impudici actus;
nec curandi aliorum ser-
mones, si rectè cum
conscientiâ agatur. Sic
& in tantum hoc appro-
bamus: nam quod cir-
ca matrimonium in lege
Mosis fuit permissum,
Evangelium non revo-
cat, aut vetat, quod ex-
ternum regimen non
immutat, sed adfert
æternam justitiam &
æternam vitam, & or-
ditur veram obedienti-
am erga Deum, & co-
natur corruptam natu-
ram reparare.

*ed on the same account,
that is, that none but
the person you shall wed,
and a few trusty persons
know of the matter, and
they too obliged to secrecy
under the seal of Confes-
sion. Hence no contradic-
tion nor scandal of mo-
ment, is to be apprehen-
ded; for 'tis no extraor-
dinary thing for Princes
to keep concubines; and
tho' the vulgar should be
scandaliz'd thereat, the
more intelligent would
doubt of the truth, and
prudent persons would
approve of this moderate
kind of life, preferably
to adultery, and other
brutal actions. There is
no need of being much
concern'd for what Men
will say, provided all
goes right with consci-
ence. So far do we ap-
prove it, and in those
circumstances only by us
specify'd: for the Gospel
bath neither recall'd, nor
forbid what was permit-
ted in the law of Moses
with respect to marriage.
Jesus Christ has not
changed the external
Oeconomy; but added ju-
stice only and life ever-*

XXII. Habet itaque Celsitudo vestra non tantum omnium nostrum testimonium in casu necessitatis, sed etiam antecedentes nostras considerationes, quas rogamus, ut vestra Celsitudo tanquam laudatus, sapiens, & Christianus Princeps velit ponderare. Oramus quoque Deum, ut velit Celsitudinem vestram ducere ac regere ad suam laudem & vestrae celsitudinis animae salutem.

XXIII. Quod attinet ad consilium hanc rem apud Cæsarem tractandi; existimamus illum, adulterium inter minora peccata numerare; nam magnoperè verendum, illum Papisticâ, Cardinalitiâ, Italicâ, Hispanicâ, Saracenicâ imbutum fide, non curatum vestrae Celsitudinis postulatum, & in proprium emolumentum vanis verbis sustentatum, sicut intelligimus

lasting for reward. He teaches the true way of obeying God, and endeavours to repair the corruption of nature.

XXII. *Your Highness hath therefore in this writing, not only the approbation of us all, in case of necessity, concerning what you desire, but also the reflexions we have made thereupon: we beseech you to weigh them as becoming a virtuous, wise, and Christian Prince. We also beg of God to direct all for his glory and your Highness's salvation.*

XXIII. *As to your Highness's thought of communicating this affair to the Emperor before it be concluded; it seems to us that this Prince counts adultery among the lesser sort of sins; and it is very much to be fear'd lest his faith being of the same stamp with that of the Pope, the Cardinals, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Saracens; he make light of your Highness's proposal, and perfidum*

perfidum ac falacem virum esse, morisque Germanici oblitum.

XXIV. Videt Celsitudo vestra ipsa, quòd nullis necessitatibus christianis sincerè consulit. Turcam finit imperturbatum, excitat tantum rebelliones in Germaniâ, ut Burgundicam potentiam efferat. Quare optandum ut nulli Christiani Principes illius infidis machinationibus semisceant. Deus conservet vestram Celsitudinem. Nos ad serviendum vestræ Celsitudini sumus promptissimi. Datum Vittembergæ die Mercurii post festum Sancti Nicolai, 1539.

Vestræ Celsitudinis parati ac subjecti servi,

MARTINUS LUTHER.
PHILIPPUS MELANTHON.
MARTINUS BUCERUS.

turn it to his own advantage by amusing your Highness with vain words. We know he's deceitful and perfidious, and has nothing of the German in him.

XXIV. *Your Highness sees, that he uses no sincere endeavour to redress the grievances of Christendom: that he leaves the Turk unmolested, and labours for nothing but to divide the Empire, that he may raise up the house of Austria on its ruins. It is therefore very much to be wish'd, that no Christian Prince would give into his pernicious schemes. May God preserve your Highness. We are most ready to serve your Highness. Given at Wittemberg the Wednesday after the Feast of Saint Nicholas, 1539.*

Your Highness's most humble and most obedient subjects and servants.

MARTIN LUTHER.
PHILIP MELANTHON.
MARTIN BUCER.
AN-

ANTONIUS COR-
VINUS.

ADAM.

JOANNES LENIN-
GUS.JUSTUS WINT-
FERTE.DIONYSIUS ME-
LANTHER.

ANTONY CORVIN.

ADAM.

JOHN LENINGUE.

JUSTUS WINT-
FERTE.DENIS MELAN-
THER.

EGO Georgius Nus-
picher, acceptâ à
Cæsare potestate, Nota-
rius publicus & Scriba,
testor hoc meo chiro-
grapho publicè, quòd
hanc copiam ex vero &
inviolato originali pro-
priâ manu à Philippo
Melancthone exarato,
ad instantiam & petiti-
dem mei clementissimi
Domini & Principis
Hassiae ipse scripserim,
& quinque foliis numero
exceptâ inscriptione
complexus sim, etiam
omnia propriè & dili-
genter auscultârim &
contulerim, & in om-
nibus cum originali &
subscriptione nominum
concordet. Dequâ re ite-
rùm testor propriâ manu.

GEORGIUS NUSPI-
CHER.

Notarius.

I George Nuspicher
Notary Imperial,
*bear testimony by this pre-
sent act written and sign'd
with my own hand, that
I have transcribed this
present copy from the true
original, which is in
Melancthon's own hand-
writing, and hath been
faithfully preserved to
this present time: at the
request of the most Serene
Prince of Hesse; and
have examin'd with the
greatness exactness every
line and every word;
and collated them with
the same original; and
have found them confor-
mable thereunto, not only
in the things themselves,
but also in the signs ma-
nual, and have deliver'd
the present copy in five
leaves of good paper,
whereof I bear witness.*

GEORGE NUSPI-
CHER. Notary.

In-

Instrumentum copu-
lationis PHILIPPI
LANDGRAVII, &
MARGARETÆ
DE SAAL.

The Marriage con-
tract of PHILIP
LANDGRAVE OF
HESSE, with MAR-
GARET DE SAAL.

In Nomine Domini
Amen.

In the Name of God
Amen.

NOTUM sit om-
nibus & singulis,
qui hoc publi-
cum instrumentum vi-
dent, audiunt, legunt,
quòd Anno post Chri-
stum natum 1540, die
Mercurii mensis Martii,
post meridiem circa se-
cundam circiter, indic-
tionis Anno 13, poten-
tissimi & invictissimi
Romanorum Imperato-
ris Caroli-quinti, cle-
mentissimi nostri Domi-
ni Anno regiminis 21,
coram me infra scripto
Notario & teste, Ro-
temburgi in arce com-
paruerint serenissimus
Princeps & Dominus
Philippus Landgravius
Comes in Catznellenbo-
gen, Dietz, Ziegen-
hain, & Niddâ, cum
aliquibus suæ Celsitudi-
nis consiliariis ex unâ

BE it known to all
those, as well in
general as in par-
ticular, who shall see,
hear, or read this publick
instrument; that in the
year 1540, on Wednes-
day the fourth day of the
Month of March, at
two o' clock or thereabouts
in the afternoon, the
thirteenth year of the
Indiction, and the
twenty first of the Reign
of the most puissant and
most victorious Emperor
Charles the fifth our
most gracious Lord; the
most serene Prince and
Lord Philip Landgrave
of Hesse, Count of Catz-
nelenbogen, of Dietz of
Ziegenhain, and Nidda,
with some of his High-
ness's Counsellors, on one
side; and the good and
virtuous Lady Margaret
parte,

parte; & honesta, ac virtuosa Virgo Margareta de Saal, cum aliquibus ex suâ consanguinitate ex alterâ parte; illâ intentione & voluntate coram me publico Notario ac teste, publicè confessi sunt, ut matrimonio copulentur: & postea ante memoratus meus clementissimus Dominus & Princeps Landgravius Philippus per Reverendum Dominum Dionysium Melandrum, suæ Celsitudinis Concionatorem, curavit proponi fermè hunc sensum. Cùm omnia aperta sint oculis Dei, & homines paucaleant, & sua Celsitudo velit cum nominatâ virgine Margaretâ matrimonio copulari, etsi prior suæ Celsitudinis conjux adhuc sit in vivis, ut hoc non tribuatur levitati & curiositati, ut evitetur scandalum, & nominatæ virginis & illius honestæ consanguinitatis honor & fama non patiat; edicit sua Celsitudo hîc coram Deo, & in suam conscientiam & ani-

de Saal with some of her relations, on the other side, have appear'd before me Notary and witness under-written, in the City of Rotenburg, in the Castle of the same city, with the design and will publickly declar'd before me Notary publick and witness, to unite themselves by marriage: and accordingly my most gracious Lord and Prince Philip the Landgrave, hath order'd this to be propos'd by the Reverend Denis Melander Preacher to his Highness, much to the sense as follows. Whereas the eye of God searches all things, and but little escapes the knowledge of men, his Highness declares that his will is to wed the said Lady Margaret de Saal, altho' the Princess his wife be still living; and that this action may not be imputed to inconsistency, or curiosity; to avoid scandal and maintain the honour of the said Lady, and the reputation of her kindred; his Highness makes Oath here before God, and up-

mam,

nam, hoc non fieri ex levitate, aut curiositate, nec ex aliquâ vilipensione juris & superiorum, sed urgeri aliquibus gravibus & inevitabilibus necessitatibus conscientiae & corporis, adeo ut impossibile sit sine aliâ superinducta legitima conjuge corpus suum & animam salvare. Quam multiplicem causam etiam sua Celsitudo multis prædoctis, piis, prudentibus, & Christianis Prædicatoribus antehac indicavit, qui etiam consideratis inevitabilibus causis id ipsum suaserunt ad suæ Celsitudinis animæ & conscientiae consulendum. Quæ causa & necessitas etiam Serenissimam Principem Christianam Ducissam Saxoniae, suæ Celsitudinis primam legitimam conjugem, ut potè altâ principali prudentiâ & piâ mente præditam movit, ut suæ Celsitudinis tanquam dilectissimi mariti animæ & corpori serviret, & honor Dei promoveretur ad gratiosè consentiendum. Quemadmo-

on his soul and conscience that he takes her to wife thro' no levity, nor curiosity, nor from any contempt of law, or superiors; but that he is obliged to it by such important, such inevitable necessities of body and conscience; that it is impossible for him to save either body or soul, without adding another wife to his first. All which his Highness hath laid before many learned devout, prudent, and christian Preachers, and consulted them upon it. And these great men, after examining the motives represented to them, have advised his Highness to put his soul and conscience at ease by this double marriage. And the same cause and the same necessity have obliged the most serene Princess Christina Duchess of Saxony his Highness's first lawful wife, out of her great prudence and sincere devotion for which she is so much to be commended, freely to consent and admit of a partner, to the

dum suæ Celſitudinis hæc super-relata ſyngrapha teſtatur; & ne cui ſcandalum detur eò quòd duas conjuges habere moderno tempore ſit inſolitum; etſi in hoc caſu Chriſtianum & licitum ſit, non vult ſua Celſitudo publicè coram pluribus conſuetas ceremonias uſurpare, & palàm nuptias celebrare cum memoratâ virgine Margaretâ de Saal: ſed hîc in privato & ſilentio in præſentiâ ſubſcriptorum teſtium volunt invicem jungi matrimonio. Finito hoc ſermone nominati Philippus & Margareta ſunt matrimonio juncti, & unaquæque perſona alteram ſibi deſponſam agnovit & acceptavit, adjunctâ mutuâ fidelitatis promiſſione in nomine Domini. Et antememoratus Princeps ac Dominus ante hunc actum me inſcriptum Notarium requiſivit, ut deſuper unum aut plura inſtrumenta conficerem, & mihi etiam tanquam perſonæ publicæ, verbo ac fide Principis addixit

end that the ſoul and body of her moſt dear Spouſe may run no further riſk, and the glory of God may be increaſed, as the deed written with this Princeſs's own hand ſufficiently teſtifies. And leſt occaſion of ſcandal be taken from its not being the cuſtom to have two wives, altho' this be Chriſtian and lawful in the preſent caſe, his Highneſs will not ſolemnize theſe nuptials in the ordinary way, that is, publicly before many people, and with the wonted ceremonies, with the ſaid Margaret de Saal; but both the one and the other will join themſelves in wedlock, privately and without noiſe, in preſence only of the witneſſes under-written. After Melander had finiſh'd his diſcourſe, the ſaid Philip, and the ſaid Margaret accepted of each other for husband and wife, and promiſed mutual fidelity in the name of God. The ſaid Prince hath required of me Notary under-writ-

ac promisit, se omnia hæc inviolabilitè semper ac firmiter servaturum, in præsentia reverendorum prædoctorum Dominorum M. Philippi Melancthonis, M. Martini Bucer, Dionysii Melandri, etiam in præsentia strenuorum ac præstantium Eberhardi de Than Electoralis Consilarii, Hermannii de Malsberg, Hermannii de Hundelshausen, Domini Joannis Fegg Cancellariæ, Rodolphi Schenck, ac honestæ ac virtuosæ Dominae Annæ natæ de Miltitz viduæ defuncti Joannis de Saal memoratæ sponsæ matris, tanquam ad hunc actum requisitorum testium.

ten to draw him one, or more collated copies of this Contract, and hath also promised, on the word and faith of a Prince, to me a publick person, to observe it inviolably, always, and without alteration, in presence of the Reverend and most learned masters Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Denis Melander; and likewise in the presence of the illustrious and valliant Eberhard de Than Counsellor of his Electoral Highness of Saxony, Herman de Malsberg, Herman de Hundelshausen, the Lord John Fegg of the Chancery, Rodulph Schenck; and also in the presence of the most honourable and most vertuous Lady Anne of the family of Miltitz widow of the late John de Saal, and mother of the Spouse, all in quality of requisite witnesses for the validity of the present act.

ET ego Balthasar Rand de Fuldâ, potestate Cæsaris Nota-

AND I Balthasar Rand of Fuld,
Notary publick Imper-

rius publicus, qui huic sermoni, instructioni, & matrimoniali sponsioni, & copulationi cum suprâ memoratis testibus interfui, & hæc omnia & singulâ audiui, & vidi, & tanquam Notarius publicus requisitus fui, hoc instrumentum publicum meâ manu scripsi, & subscripsi, & consueto sigillo munivi in fidem & testimonium.

rial, who was present at the discourse, instruction, marriage, espousals, and union aforesaid, with the said witnesses, and have bear'd and seen all that pass'd: have written and subscribed the present contract being requested so to do; and set to it the usual seal for a testimonial of the truth thereof.

BALTHASAR RAND. BALTHASAR RAND,





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK VII.

An account of the Variations, and Reformation of England under Henry VIII. from the year 1529, to 1547, and under Edward VI. from 1547, to 1553, with the subsequent history of Cranmer until his death in 1556.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The English Reformation condemn'd even from Mr. Burnet's own history. The divorce of Henry VIII. His furious transports against the Holy See. His Ecclesiastical Supremacy. The grounds of, and consequences from this doctrine. This point excepted, the Catholick Faith remains whole and intire. Henry's decisions in matters of Faith. His six Articles. The history of Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury author of the English Reformation. His base compliances, corruption and hypocrisy. His shameful sentiments concerning the Hierarchy. The conduct of the pretended-Reformers, and in particular, of Thomas

Cromwell the King's Vicar-general and Vice-gent in spirituals. That of Anne Boleyn, against whom the divine vengeance declares itself. The prodigious blindness of Henry thro' the whole course of his life. His death. The minority of Edward VI. his son. Henry's decrees are reversed. The King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy alone remains in force. It's carried to such a pitch that even Protestants are asham'd of it. Cranmer's Reformation built on this bottom. The King look'd upon as judge in matters of Faith. Antiquity despised. Continual Variations. The death of Edward VI. Cranmer's Treason in conjunction with others against Queen Mary the late King's sister. The Catholick Religion re-establish'd. Cranmer's ignominious end. Some particular remarks on Mr. Burnet's History and the English Reformation.

I.
The death
of Henry
VIII.
King of
England:
on this oc-
casion, the
account of
the begin-
ning and
progress of
the En-
glish Reformation is
enter'd
upon.



M D
XLVII.

HE death of *Luther* was soon follow'd by another death, which caused great changes in *Religion*. 'Twas that of *Henry VIII.* who, after giving such great hopes in the first years of his reign, made so bad a use of the rare qualifications of body and mind, with which the divine bounty had so liberally endow'd him. No body is ignorant of the irregularities of this *Prince*, nor of the blindness he fell into by his unhappy amours; nor how much blood he shed after he had given himself up to them, nor of the dreadful consequences of his marriages, fatal almost every one of them to those he took to his bed. Nor is it less known, on what occasion he, once a very *Catholick Prince*, made himself the author of a new sect, equally detested by

by *Catholicks, Lutherans, and Sacramentarians*. The *holy See* having condemn'd the divorce, which, after a marriage of five and twenty years, he had made from *Katherine of Arragon* relict of his brother *Arthur*, and the marriage he had contracted with *Anne Boleyn*; he not only rose up against the authority of that *See* which condemn'd him, but also, by an attempt till then unheard of among Christians, declared himself *Head* of the *Church of England*, as well in spirituals as temporals; and from thence begins the *English Reformation*, whereof so ingenious a history has been given us of late years, and withal so full of rancour against the *Catholick Church*.

The author of it, *Doctör Gilbert Burnet*, upbraids us in his very preface, and thro' the whole body of his history, with having taken mighty advantage from the conduct of *Henry VIII.* and that of *England's first Reformers*. Above all, he complains of *Sanders* a *Catholick* historian, whom he impeaches of having invented heinous facts to make the *English Reformation* odious. Then these complaints are turn'd against us and the *Catholick Doctrine*. *A Religion*, says he, *made up of falsehoods and impostures, must be maintain'd by means suitable to itself*. He even carries this outrageous invective to a higher pitch: *Sanders's book might well serve the ends of that Church, which has all along raised its greatness by publick cheats and forgeries*. The colours he paints us in, are not more black, than the ornaments he decks his own *Church* with, are pompous and glittering. *The Reformation*, proceeds he, *was a work of light, and needs none of the arts of darkness to give it a lustre*. *A full and distinct narrative of what was then done, will be its Apology, as well as its history*. These are fine words, nor could more magnificent ones have been used, if in the

II.
The foundation here built upon, is Mr. Burnet's own history: the Doctors pompous words concerning the *English Reformation*.
Appen. T.
1. p. 303.

Ext. from
the Journ.
of the
House of
Lords and
Com. 3.
Jan.
1681. 23.
Dec.
1680. &
5. Jan.
1681. in
the begin-
ning of the
11. T. of
Bur. Hist.

changes that happen'd in *England*, he had been to shew us even the same sanctity, which shone forth at the first birth of *Christianity*. Since he desires it, let us then consider this history, which, by its naked simplicity alone, justifies the *Reformation*. We stand not in need of a *Sanders*; Mr. Burnet will suffice to let us clearly see, what was this work of light, and the bare series of facts related by this artful defender of the *English Reformation*, is enough to give us a just idea of it. And if *England* there finds the sensible marks of that blindness, which *God* sometimes punishes *Kings* and their people with, let her not blame me, who do but follow a history which the whole body of her *Parliament* has honour'd with so authentick an approbation; but let her adore the hidden judgments of *God*, who has permitted the errors of this *learned* and *illustrious* Nation to rise to so visible a height, only to the end she might, by this means, the more easily know herself.

III.

The first
fact avow'd
that the
Reforma-
tion began
by a man
equally re-
jected by
all parties.
Pref.

The first important fact I observe in Mr. Burnet, is what he advances even in his preface, and continues to give proofs of thro' the whole body of his book: that when *Henry VIII.* began his *Reformation*, the *King's* design seem'd to have been in the whole progress of these changes to terrify the *Court of Rome*, and force the *Pope* into a compliance with what he desired: for in his heart he continued addicted to the most extravagant opinions of that Church, such as *Transubstantiation* and the other corruptions in the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, so that he rather died in this *Communion* than in that of the *Protestants*. Whatsoever Mr. Burnet may please to say of this matter, we shall not admit this *Prince*, whom he seems to offer us, a member of our *Communion*; and since he casts him off from his own, the immediate result of this fact is, that the author of the *English Reformation*, and who

who, in reality, laid the true foundation of it in the hatred he excited against the *Pope* and *Church of Rome*, is one equally rejected and excommunicated by all sides.

What in this place mostly deserves our observation is, that this *Prince* was not content with believing in his heart, and outwardly professing all those points of Faith, which Mr. *Burnet* calls the *greatest* and most *extravagant* of our corruptions: but even by law, in his new capacity of *Supreme Head, under Jesus Christ, of the Church of England*, made them that *Church's* articles of Faith. He caused them to be approved by all the *Bishops* and all his *Parliaments*, that is, by all the *Tribunals*, in which the highest degree of *Ecclesiastical authority*, in the *Church of England*, resides at this day. He made them be subscribed, and put in practice throughout all *England*, and in particular, by the *Cromwells*, the *Cranmers*, and all the rest of Mr. *Burnet's* heroes, who, whether *Lutherans* or *Zuinglians* in their hearts, and zealous for setting up the *new Gospel*, went nevertheless after the usual rate to *Moss* as to the publick worship, which was pay'd to *God*, or said it themselves; in a word, practised all other whatsoever doctrine of the then received divine service in the *Church*, in spite of their *Religion* and *Consciences*.

Thomas Cromwell was the Person the *King* appointed his *Vicar-general* in spirituals in 1535, immediately after his condemnation; and whom in 1536. as *Supreme Head* of the *Church*, he made his *Vice-gerent*: whereby, he placed him at the head of all *Ecclesiastical* affairs and of the whole sacred order, tho' he were no more than a *Layman*, and always remain'd such. Till then, that title had not been met with on the list of the *Crown-officers* of *England*, nor among the employments recorded in the *review* of the *Empire*, nor

IV.

What was the Faith of *Henry VIII.* author of the Reformation.

V.

What were the instruments made use of by *Henry VIII.* in the Reformation: *Cromwell* his Vice-gerent in spirituals.

Bar. l.
111. p.
181.
Notitia
Imperii.

VI.
Thomas
Cranmer
is Mr.
Burnet's
Heroe.

Pres. to-
wards the
end.

VII.
Mr. Burn-
et's he-
roes are
not always
even in his
judgment
the best of
men:
what he
relates of
Montluc
Bishop of
Valence.
2. part.
L. 1. p.
85.

nor in any whatsoever *Christian kingdom*; and it was *Henry VIII.* that first shew'd *England*, and the *Christian World*, a *Lord Vice-gerent* and a *King's Vicar-general* in *Spirituals*.

Cromwell's intimate friend, and the chief manager of the *English Reformation*, was *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This is *Mr. Burnet's* great heroe. He abandons *Henry VIII.* whose scandals and cruelties are too flagrant. But was well aware, should he do the same by *Cranmer*, whom he looks upon as the author of the *Reformation*, this would be giving us at once a too bad idea of this whole work. Therefore he enlarges much in the praises of this *Prelate*, and not content with admiring every where his moderation, his piety, and prudence, he sticks not at making him as much, or more irreprehensible than *St. Athanasius* and *St. Cyrill*, and of such extraordinary worth, that *we shall find as eminent virtues, and as few faults in him, as in any Prelate that has been in the christian Church for many ages.*

The truth is, there is no great depending on the praises *Mr. Burnet* gives the heroes of the *Reformation*: witness those he bestow'd on *Montluc* Bishop of *Valence*. He was, says he, *one of the wisest ministers of his time, and always for moderate Councils in matters of religion: which made him be sometimes suspected of heresy. And indeed the whole sequel of his life declared him to be one of the greatest men of that age: only his being so long, and so firmly, united to the interest of Queen Katherine Medicis, takes off a great deal of the high character which the rest of his life has given of him.* The crime certainly was not very great, since he ow'd all to this *Princess*, who besides was his *Queen*, the wife and mother of his *Kings*, and always in union with them: so that this *Prelate*, against whom this only exception could

could be made of being faithful to his benefactress, in Mr. *Burnet's* judgment, must have been the most unblameable of all his cotemporaries. But the eulogiums the Reformers bestow on the great men of their sect, are not to be taken literally. The same Mr. *Burnet* in the very book, wherein he so highly extols *Montluc*, speaks thus of him: *This Bishop was eminent; but he had his faults.* After what he has said of him, these faults, we ought to think, will be but trifling: but read to the end, and you'll find, they consisted but in this, that *He had endeavour'd to corrupt the daughter of an Irish gentleman, who had received him into his house; and had with him an English mistress whom he kept, who having drunk, without reflexion, the precious balm which Solomon the magnificent had made this Prelate a present of, He fell into such a rage, that all the house was disturb'd with it, whereby he discover'd both his lewdness and passion at once.* Here are the trifling faults of a Prelate, the whole sequel of whose life declared him to be one of the greatest men of that age. The Reformation, either not over nice in virtue, or indulgent to her heroes, easily forgives them such abominations; and if *Montluc*, for having only a little spice of Reformation, was a man, such crimes notwithstanding, almost irreproachable, no wonder so great a Reformer as *Cranmer* should have merited such high encomiums.

2 Part. L.
1. p. 204.

Thus warn'd against any imposition for the future, from the great commendations, where-with Mr. *Burnet* extols his Reformers and *Cranmer* most particularly; let us now form the history of this Prelate on the facts related by this historian, his perpetual admirer, and observe, at the same time, in what Spirit the Reformation was conceived.

Ever

VIII.
Cranmer,
a Lutheran
according
to Mr.
Burnet.
How he
came into
the King's
favour and
that of
Anne Bo-
leyn.

Burn. 1. T.
lib. 11. p.
87. 1530.
Ibid.

Ibid.

IX.
Cranmer
sent to
Rome on
account of
the di-
vorce, is
there made

Ever since the year 1529, Thomas Cranmer had put himself at the head of that party, which favour'd the Queen's divorce, and the marriage the King was resolv'd upon with Anne Boleyn. In 1530, he wrote a book against the validity of Katherine's marriage, and we may judge how successfully, by thus flattering the predominant passion of his Prince, *he made his court*. From that time, he began to be considered as a kind of favourite, and believed the likeliest to succeed in credit to Cardinal Wolfey. Cranmer was then devoted to Luther's doctrine, and, as Mr. Burnet says, *was lookt on as the most learned of those who had embraced it*. Anne Boleyn, proceeds this author, *had also received some impressions of this doctrine*. Afterwards he makes her appear wholly devoted to the sentiments of those, whom he calls the Reformers. By this word we must always understand the hidden, or avow'd enemies of the Mass and Catholick doctrine. Crome, Shaxton, Latimer, and others, adds he, *of that society favoured the King's cause*. Here we have the secret ties which link'd Cranmer and his adherents with Henry's mistress: here lies the foundation of this new favourite's interest, and the beginnings of the English Reformation. The unhappy Prince, who knew nothing of these associations and designs, did himself insensibly combine with the enemies of that Faith, he till then had so well defended, and thro' their secret machinations, became unwittingly subservient to the designs of destroying it.

Cranmer was sent into Italy and Rome in behalf of the divorce, and there carried so far the dissimulation of his errors, that the Pope made him his Penitentiary; which shews he was a Priest. He accepted of this employment, as much a Lutheran as he was. From Rome he went

went into *Germany* there to manage his good friends the *Protestants*; and then it was he married *Osfander's* sister. Some say, he had debauch'd her, and was forced to marry her; but I shall not vouch for these scandalous facts till I find 'em well attested by those of the party, or at least by unsuspected authors. As for the marriage, the fact is certain. These men are accustom'd, in spite of the *Canons*, in spite of the profession of *continency*, to look on such marriages as good. But *Henry* was of another mind, and held married Priests in abhorrence. *Cranmer* had been already expell'd *Jefus College* in *Cambridge* for a former marriage. The second he contracted, whilst a Priest, would have brought him into much more dreadful circumstances, since, by the *Canon-law*, he would have been excluded from this holy order by a second marriage tho' contracted even before Priesthood. The *Reformers*, in their hearts, made but a jest both of the *sacred Canons*, and their own *Vows*: but for fear of *Henry* it was necessary to keep this marriage private, and this great *Reformer* set out by deceiving his master in a concern of this importance.

Whilst he was in *Germany* in the year 1533, the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* became vacant by *Warham's* death. The King of *England* nominated *Cranmer*, and he accepted of it. The *Pope*, who knew no error in him, but that of maintaining the nullity of *Henry's* marriage (a thing at that time undecided) gave him his *Bulls*; *Cranmer* received them, and dreaded not, by so doing, to contaminate himself, as the party used to speak, with the *Character* of the *Beast*.

At his *Consecration*, and before they proceeded to ordain him, he took the usual oath of fidelity to the *Pope*, introduced some ages before. This was not without scruple, as *Mr. Burnet* tells us; but

the *Pope's* Penitentiary: he marries, tho' a Priest, but in private. 1530. p. 92.

p. 79.

X.

Cranmer nominated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, receives the *Pope's* bulls, tho' a married man and a *Lutheran*. *Ibid.* l. 11. p. 128.

XI.

Cranmer's consecration, profession of submission

to the
Pope: his
protestati-
on: his
hypocrisy.

*Pontif.
Rom. in
Consecr.
Ep.*

Burn.

Ibid. 129.

*Pont. Rom.
in Consec.
Episc.*

but *Cranmer* had ways and means of coming off, and saved all by protesting, that he intended not to restrain himself by this oath, from what he ow'd his *Conscience*, his *King* and his *Country*: a protestation in itself quite needless; for who of us imagines, he engages himself by this oath to any thing that's contrary to his *Conscience*, or the service of his *King* and *Country*? Far from thinking we prejudice any of these, 'tis even expressed in the oath, that we take it without prejudice to the rights of our order, *Salvo ordine meo*. The submission, which is sworn to the *Pope* in *spirituals*, is of a different order from that we naturally owe our *Prince* in *temporals*, and without protesting, we have always well understood, that one does not interfere with the other. But in a word, either this oath is a meer empty form, or it obliges to acknowledge the *Pope's* spiritual jurisdiction. The new Archbishop therefore acknowledg'd it in word, tho' he believed no such thing. Mr. *Burnet* grants, that this expedient did but little agree with *Cranmer's* sincerity: and in order to extenuate, as far as he was able, so criminal a dissimulation, adds a little after, *By which, if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain, he intended no cheat*. What is it then we call a cheat, or can there be a greater than to swear what you don't believe, and come prepared with shifts to elude your oath, by a protestation conceived in words so indeterminate? But Mr. *Burnet* thinks not fit to tell us, that *Cranmer*, who was consecrated with all the ceremonies of the *Pontifical*, besides this oath he pretended to evade the force of, made other declarations, against which he did not protest: viz. *To receive with submission the traditions of the Fathers, and the constitutions of the Holy See-Apostolick, to render obedience to St. Peter in the person of his*
Vicar

Vicar the Pope and his successors, according to canonical authority; to keep chastity, the which, in the Church's design, expressly declared from the time one is admitted to sub-deaconship, imported celibacy and continency, This is what Mr. Burnet makes no mention of. He acquaints us not, that Cranmer said Mass according to custom together with his consecrator. Cranmer ought also to have protested against this act, and against all the Masses he said officiating in the Church; at least, during the whole reign of Henry VIII. that is, for thirteen years successively. Mr. Burnet speaks not a word of all these fine actions of his heroe. He tells us not, that when he made Priests, as doubtless he did in the space of so many years he was Archbishop, he made them according to the terms of the Pontifical, wherein Henry changed nothing, no more than in the Mass. He therefore gave them power of changing the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ by their holy Benediction, of offering the Sacrifice, and saying Mass as well for the living as the dead. Much more to the purpose had it been, to protest against so many acts so contrary to Lutheranism, than against the oath of obedience to the Pope. But the thing was, Henry VIII. whom a protestation against the Pope's Supremacy did not offend, would not have endured the rest: for this reason, Cranmer dissembles. Here then we have him all at once, a Lutheran, a married man, a concealer of his marriage, an Archbishop according to the Roman Pontifical subject to the Pope, whose power he detested in his heart, saying Mass which he did not believe in, and giving power to say it; yet nevertheless, if we believe Mr. Burnet, a second Athanasius, a second Cyrill, one of the most perfect Prelates the Church ever had. What a notion would he give us, not only of St. Athanasius and St. Cyrill,

Pont. Rom. in Ord. Presbyt.
but

but also of *St. Augustin*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Basil*, and all the Saints in general, had they nothing in 'em more excellent, nor less defective than a man, who practises, for so long a time, what he believes the very height of *Sacrilege* and *abomination*? Thus are men blinded in the new *Reformation*, and thus the darkness, which over-cast the minds of the first *Reformers*, spreads diffusive on their Defenders still at this very day.

XII.
Reflexion
on *Cran-*
mer's pre-
tended mo-
deration.

Mr. *Burnet* pretends, that his *Archbishop* did all he could to wave this eminent dignity, and admires his moderation. For my part, I am far from disputing with the greatest enemies of the *Church*, certain moral virtues, to be met with in *Heathens* and *Philosophers*; which in *Hereticks* were nothing else but a snare of Satan to intrap the weak, and a part of that hypocrisy which seduces them. But Mr. *Burnet* has too much wit not to see that *Cranmer*, who had *Anne Boleyn*, the King was so smitten with, on his side; who did all could be required to favour the amorous passion of that *Prince*; and who, after declaring against *Katherine's* marriage, had made himself so necessary to the breaking of it, was very sensible, *Henry* could never chuse an *Archbishop* more favourable to his designs: so that, nothing was more easy for him, than to obtain the *Archbishoprick* by refusing it, and thus add the repute of moderation to the honour of so great a *Prelacy*.

XIII.
Cranmer
proceeds
to a sen-
tence of
divorce:
he takes
the title of
Legate of
the Apo-
stolick See
in giving

And truly, no sooner was *Cranmer* raised to this dignity, but he bestir'd himself to make an interest in the *Parliament* in favour of the *divorce*. Before this time, in the year 1532, the *King* had already privately married *Anne Boleyn*: she was with child, and the secret was ready to break out. The *Archbishop*, who was privy to it, signaliz'd himself in this juncture, and shew'd a deal of vigour in flattering the *King*. By his Archiepiscopal

pal authority he wrote him a very serious letter on his incestuous marriage with *Katherine*: a marriage, said he, *the world had long been scandalized with*, and declared to him that for his part, he was determin'd to suffer no longer so great a scandal. Here is a man of wonderful resolution, a second *John the Baptist*. Thereupon he cites the *King* and *Queen* to appear before him: he proceeds: the *Queen* does not appear: the *Archbishop* declared her *Contumacious*, and the marriage null from the beginning; nor did he forget, in his sentence, to take upon him, as was customary with the *Archbishops of Canterbury*, the quality of *Ibid.* *Legate of the See-Apostolick*. Mr. Burnet insinuates, this might be done in order to make the sentence firmer: that is to say, the *Archbishop*, who in his heart neither own'd *Pope* nor *Holy See*, was willing, for the *King's* sake, to take that title, which would best authorize his pleasures. Five days after, he confirm'd the private marriage of *Anne Boleyn*, tho' contracted before that of *Katherine* was declared void, nor did the *Archbishop* stick to ratify so irregular a proceeding. *Ibid.*

The definitive sentence of *Clement VII.* against the *King of England* is known sufficiently. It followed soon after that, which *Cranmer* had given in his behalf; *Henry*, entertaining still some hopes from the *Court of Rome*, had again submitted himself to the decision of the *Holy See*, even after the *Archbishop's* judgment. There is no need of relating to what excess of wrath the *King* was transported, and Mr. Burnet himself owns, *He kept no measure in his resentments*. Accordingly, then it was he began to carry his title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, to its utmost extent.

Then it was the World lamented the death of two, the greatest men of *England* for piety and learning;

the sentence.
Ib. p. 131.

XIV.
The sentence of *Clement VII.* and *Henry's* rage against the *Holy See.*
p. 134.

XV.
More and Fisher

condemn'd learning; of *Thomas More Lord High Chancellor*, to death and *Fisher Bishop of Rochester*. Mr. Burnet him- self grieves, and looks upon the tragical end of these two great men to have left one of the greatest King head blots on this King's proceedings.

These were the two most illustrious victims of the *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*. More being very much urged to own it, made this fine answer: That he should distrust his own understanding, were he alone against the whole *Parliament*: but altho' the great *Council of England* was against him, the whole *Church*, the great *Council of Christendom*, was on his side. *Fisher's* end was not less glorious, nor less christian.

XVI. Then began executions indifferently against *Catholicks* as well as *Protestants*, and *Henry* became the bloodiest of all *Princes*. But remarkable is the date. *It does not appear*, says Burnet, *that cruelty was natural to him*. For in twenty five years reign, none had suffer'd for any crime against the state, but two men, whose punishment could not be imputed to him. Yet in the ten last years of his life, says the same author, many instances of severity occur'd. Mr. Burnet will not have him imitated, nor condemn'd with sharpness; but none condemns him more sharply than Burnet himself, who thus speaks of this Prince: The vastness and irregularity of his expence procured many heavy exactions, and twice extorted a publick discharge of his debts, embas'd the coin, with other irregularities. His proud and impatient spirit occasion'd many cruel proceedings. The taking so many lives only for denying his Supremacy, particularly *Fisher's* and *More's*, the one being extreme old, and the other one of the glories of his nation, for probity and learning. The rest may be seen in his Preface, but I cannot omit this last touch; That which was the first of all, and

p. 156.

M D

xxxiv.

Ibid. p.

155. 156.

XVI.

The memorable date of Henry's cruelties, and other excesses.

L. III. p. 180.

L. III. p. 181.

Pref.

and deserved most to be blamed, *was the laying a precedent for the subversion of justice, and oppressing the clearest innocence, by attainting men without hearing them.* All this notwithstanding, Mr. Burnet would have us believe, that, altho' upon slight grounds he was too ready to bring his subjects to the bar, yet, they were indicted and judged always according to law. As if the making L. III. p. unjust laws, such as condemning the accused without allowing them a hearing, and laying snares for the innocent in the formalities of justice, were not the height of cruelty and tyranny. But what can be more horrible, than what is added by the same historian? that this Prince, whether impatient of contradiction, or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity of his new title of Head of the Church, or with the praises which flattery bestow'd on him; he thought all persons were bound to regulate their belief by his dictates. These are indeed such odious blemishes in the life of a Prince, as Mr. Burnet speaks, that no honest man can excuse; and we are obliged to this author for having saved us the trouble of looking out for proofs of all these excesses in histories that might be more suspected. But what cannot be dissembled is, that Henry, so averse before to these horrible disorders, did not fall into them, by Mr. Burnet's own confession, till the ten last years of his life, that is; he fell into them immediately after his divorce, after his open rupture with the Church, after he had usurpt, by an example unprecedented in all ages, the Ecclesiastical Supremacy: and forced he is to own, that one of the causes of his prodigious blindness was, this glorious title of Head of the Church, which his people had bestow'd upon him. I now leave the christian reader to judge, whether these be the characters of a Reformer; or rather, of a Prince, whose excesses the divine justice re-

venge by other excesses; whom it delivers over to the desires of his own heart, and abandons visibly to a reprobate sense.

XVII.
Cromwell
made
Vice-ge-
rent:
every
thing con-
curs to ex-
cite the
King
against the
Faith of
the
Church.

M D

XXXV.

Lib. III.
181.

L. II. p.
171.

Dan. viii.
12.

The death of *Fisher* and *More*, and so many other bloody executions cast terror into all minds: every body swore to *Henry's Supremacy*, and none durst stand up against it. This *Supremacy* was establish'd by diverse *Acts of Parliament*, and *the first act of the King's Supremacy was the nominating Cromwell Vicar-general in spirituals, and Visitor of all the Monasteries and other privileged places throughout England.* This was properly declaring himself *Pope*, and what is more remarkable, this was placing the whole *Ecclesiastick* power in the hands of a *Zuinglian*, for I am persuaded *Cromwell* was one, or, if *Mr. Burnet* likes better, at least a *Lutheran*. It has appear'd, that *Cranmer*, *Cromwell's* intimate friend, was of the same party, and that both of them acted unanimously in order to excite the incensed *King* against the *ancient Faith*. The new *Queen* favour'd them with all her power, and took *Shaxton* and *Lattimer*, hidden *Protestants*, to be her *Chaplains*, and promoted them to the *Bishopricks* of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*. But altho' every thing went contrary to the *old Religion*, and the chief *Ecclesiastick* and secular powers conspired its utter subversion, it is not always in the hands of men to carry on their evil purposes as far as they list. *Henry* was provok'd only against the *Pope* and *Holy See*. Accordingly, he attack'd only this authority: and God will'd it so, that the *Reformation*, from her infancy, should bear mark'd on her forehead the impression of this Prince's hatred and revenge. Whatever therefore might be the *Vicar-general's* aversion to the *Mass*, power was not then given him, like another *Antiochus*, against the perpetual *Sacrifice*; one of his *visitatorial injunctions* was, that every

every *Priest* should say *Mass* daily, and the *Religious* observe their *Rule* carefully, and particularly their *three Vows*.

Burn. L.
III. 186.
Ibid., 184.

Cranmer also made his *Metropolitcal visitation*, but 'twas after he had obtain'd the *King's licence* for it: they began to perform all acts of *Ecclesiastical jurisdiction* in vertue of the *Royal authority*. The whole drift of this *visitation*, as of all the actions of those days, was firmly to establish the *King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy*. At that time, the complying *Archbishop* had nothing so much at heart as this, and the first act of jurisdiction, which the *Bishop* of the *first See* in *England* did, was to enslave the *Church*, and subject to earthly *Kings* that power, she had received from *Heaven*.

XVIII.
Cranmer's
Metropolitcal
visitation by
the *King's*
authority.
p. 183.

These *visitations* were follow'd by the suppression of *Monasteries*, whose revenues the *King* appropriated to himself. *Protestant* and *Catholick Countries* indifferently cry'd out shame against the sacrilegious rapine of goods consecrated to *God*: but to the character of revenge, which the *English Reformation* bore from the beginning, was to be join'd that also of an infamous avarice, and this was one of the first fruits of *Henry's Supremacy*, who made himself *Head* of the *Church*, to have a title to plunder it.

XIX.
The plundering of
Monasteries.

Soon after this, died *Queen Katherine*: she was a devout and pious *Princess*, says *Mr. Burnet*, and led a severe and mortified life. In her greatness, she wrought much with her own hands, and kept her women well employ'd about her: and to join common with great virtues, the same historian adds, that by the writers of those times, *She* is represented as a most wonderful good woman. These characters are widely different from those of her rival *Anne Boleyn*. Allowing she might be vindicated from those infamous actions, which her

XX.
The death of *Queen Katherine*: a comparison betwixt this *Princess* and *Anne Boleyn*.

M D
XXXVI.

Ibid. p.

192.

Ibid. 197.*Ibid.* p.

199.

Ibid. 196.

XXI.

Sequel of
the compa-
rison, and
visible
mark of
God's
judgment.
Cranmer
annulls the
King's
marriage
with *Anne*.

p. 192.

p. 199.

favourites, at their death, charged her with; Mr. *Burnet* does not deny that her gaiety was immodest, her liberties indiscreet, her behaviour irregular and licentious. A virtuous woman, not to say a *Queen*, never bears with the failure of due respect so far, as to suffer such declarations as men of all degrees, even the lowest, made to this *Princess*. Why do I say suffer? be pleased with 'em, and not only take part therein, but also draw them on herself, and not blush to say to one of her galants, that *He look'd for dead mens shoes, and, if ought came to the King but good, he would look to have her*. All these things are own'd by *Anne*, and far from shewing a greater discountenance to those bold lovers, 'tis certain, without entering farther into the matter, she did but treat 'em the better for it. All the while she behaved thus strangely, we are assured that *she grew more full of good-works, and alms-deeds*, and barring her promoting the pretended *Reformation*, which no body disputes, this is all that's told us of her virtues.

But if we carry our reflexions still higher, we cannot but acknowledge the hand of God on this *Princess*. She enjoy'd, but three years, that glory to which so many troubles had elevated her: a new fit of love raised her up, and a new amour pull'd her down; and *Henry*, who had to her sacrificed *Katherine*, soon sacrificed *Anne* to the youth and charms of *Jane Seymour*. But *Katherine*, when she lost the King's affections, preserved at least his esteem to the very end; whereas, he had *Anne* executed infamously on a scaffold. This death happen'd a few months after that of *Katherine*. But *Katherine* preserved to the very last the character of gravity and constancy, which she had kept up during the whole series of her life. As for *Anne*, the moment she was taken, whilst she pray'd to God in tears, on a sudden would

would burst into laughter like a distracted person : the words she vented in passion against her lovers, who had betray'd her, shew'd the disorder she was in, and the trouble of her conscience. But here is a visible mark of the hand of *God*. The *King*, always hurried on by his new amours, caused his marriage with *Anne* to be annull'd in favour of *Jane Seymour*, as he had annull'd *Katherine's* in favour of *Anne*. *Elizabeth*, *Anne's* daughter, was declared illegitimate, as *Mary*, *Katherine's* daughter, had been before. By a just retaliation, *Anne* fell into the same pit she had dug for her innocent rival. But *Katherine*, even to death, maintain'd the dignity of a *Queen*, the truth of her marriage, and the honour of *Mary's* birth : *Anne* on the contrary, thro' a shameful compliance, own'd what was false, that she had married *Henry* whilst *Lord Percy* was living with whom she had before contracted ; and by confessing, contrary to her conscience, the nullity of her marriage with the *King*, involved her daughter *Elizabeth* in her own shame. To the end that *God's* justice might appear more manifest in this memorable event, *Cranmer*, that same *Cranmer*, who had annull'd *Katherine's* marriage, annull'd likewise that of *Anne*, to whom of all persons living he was most obliged. *God* struck with blindness all who had contributed to the breach of so solemn a marriage as was that of *Katherine*, *Henry*, *Anne*, the *Archbishop* himself ; not one escaped. *Cranmer's* base pusillanimity and his extreme ingratitude to *Anne* were in abhorrence with all good men ; and his shameful compliance, in breaking all marriages just as it pleased *Henry*, took from his first sentence all the appearance of authority, which the name of an *Archbishop* could have given to it.

Mr. *Burnet* sees with great concern so odious a blot in the life of his great Reformer, and to excuse

Cranmer's
letter.
Ibid. p.
200.

XXII.

Cranmer's
base com-

pliance ill
excused by
Mr. Burnet,

Ibid l.

III. 203.

L. III. p.
203.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

cuse him says, that *Anne* declared, in his presence, her marriage with *Lord Piercy*; by which it was evident, that, which she had made with the King, was not valid; upon which Confession he could not but separate her from this *Prince*, and give sentence for the nullity of the marriage. But here is a too manifest imposition: it was notorious in *England* that *Anne's* engagement with *Piercy*, far from being a concluded marriage, was not even a promise of marriage to be concluded, but a bare proposal of a marriage desired by this Lord: the which, so far from invalidating a subsequent marriage, would not even have been an impediment to the contracting of it. Mr. Burnet agrees herein, and lays down all these facts as certain. *Cranmer*, who knew the whole secret of what had pass'd between the King and *Anne*, could not be ignorant of them; and *Piercy*, the Queen's pretended husband, had taken his oath before the two Archbishops, that there was no contract, nor promise of marriage ever between them, and received the Sacrament upon it before the principal of the King's Privy Council; wishing it might be to his damnation, if there were any such thing. So solemn an oath received by *Cranmer* discover'd to him plainly, that *Anne's* Confession was not free. When she made it, she was adjudged to die, and as Mr. Burnet says, even thunder-struck with the terrible sentence of being burnt. This the laws had condemn'd her to, and the mitigating so cruel a part of her judgment depended on the King alone. *Cranmer* might easily judge, that, in such a condition, she might be wrought upon to confess what they pleased, either by some hopes of life, or by mitigating her sentence. Then was the time for an Archbishop to lend his helping hand to an oppress'd person, whom trouble, or hopes of softning her punishment,

ment, makes to speak against her conscience. If *Anne*, his benefactress, did not move him, he ought, at least, to have compassionated the innocence of *Elizabeth* just going to be declared born in *Adultery*, and as such, incapable of inheriting the *Crown*, and this, on no other grounds, but a declaration extorted from the *Queen* her mother. Nor does God bestow so great an authority on *Bishops*, but with the obligation of lending the assistance of their *eloquence* to the infirm, and their *strength* to the oppress'd. But virtues, *Cranmer* was so unacquainted with, were not to be expected from him: not even the courage to remonstrate to the *King*, the manifest contrariety of the two sentences, which he caused to be pronounced against *Anne*; one of which condemn'd her to death for defiling the *King's* bed by her *Adulteries*; the other, by reason of a *Pre-contract*, declared she never had been married to the *King*. *Cranmer* dissembled so flagrant an iniquity, and all he did in behalf of the unhappy *Princess* was, to write a letter to the *King*, wherein he wishes she may declare herself innocent; which he concludes with a postscript, protesting he is exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved, as he hear'd by relation: so much did he fear giving *Henry* the least suspicion, that he disapproved of any thing he did.

Ibid. p.
203.

Ibid. p.
200.

201.

It had been thought, his credit was shaken by *Anne's* downfall. And indeed, immediately upon it, he was forbidden to approach the *King*: but he soon found means of ingratiating himself at the expence of his benefactress, and by cancelling her marriage. The unfortunate *Princess* was in hopes of moving the *King*, by owning all he desired. This confession only saved her from the stake, and *Henry* condemn'd her to the block. She comforted herself on the day of her death because

XXIII.
The execution of
Anne Boleyn.

Ibid. 203.

she

she had heard say, the executioner was very dextrous; and besides, said she, *I have a slender neck.* At the same time, adds the witness of her death, she put her hands about it, laughing heartily, either from ostentation of an uncommon intrepidity, or because her head was turn'd at death's approach; and it seems to have been God's judgment on that unhappy Princess, that her end, dismal as it was, should yet have something in it no less ridiculous than tragical.

XXIV.
Henry's
decisions
of Faith.
He confirms that
of the
Church
concerning
the Sacrament of
Penance.
L. III.
216.

It is time to relate the definitions of *Faith*, which Henry made in quality of *Supreme Head* of the Church of England. In these articles, drawn up by the King himself, we have a confirmation of the *Catholick Doctrine*. Here we find *The absolution of the Priest taught, as instituted by Jesus Christ, and to be looked upon as valid as if given by God himself, with the necessity of Confession to a Priest, if it may be had.* On this foundation are built the three acts of *Penance* divinely instituted, *Contrition and Confession* in express terms, and *Satisfaction* under the name of worthy fruits of *Penance, which we must bring forth, altho' it be true that God pardons sin, only for the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and not on account of our merits.* Here is the whole substance of the *Catholick Doctrine*. Nor must it be imagined by *Protestants*, that, what is said of *Satisfaction*, is peculiar to themselves, since the *Council of Trent* has ever believed, that the forgiveness of sins is a pure grace, granted on account of the sole merits of *Jesus Christ*.

XXV.
Concerning the
Eucharist.

In the *Sacrament* of the *Altar* is own'd *The very same Body of Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, truly and substantially given under the forms of Bread and Wine, or, as the English original speaks, Under the form and figure of Bread: the which marks most distinctly the*
Real

Real Presence of the *Body*, and gives to understand, according to the usual expression, that nothing but the *species* of Bread remains.

Images were retain'd, with full liberty of *incensing them*, kneeling before them, bringing offerings, and shewing respect to them, in consideration, that these homages were a relative honour, directed to God, and not to the *Image*. This was not only approving the honour of *Images* in general, but those things, in particular, wherein it is carried to its greatest height.

XXVI.
Concern-
ing Ima-
ges and
Saints.
Ibid. 216.

The people were to be taught, that it was good to pray to the *Saints* that they would pray for, and with us, yet so, as not to think to obtain those things at their hands, which were only to be obtain'd of God.

Ib. 217.

When Mr. Burnet looks upon this as a kind of Reformation, that the immediate worship of *Images* was removed, and the direct invocation of *Saints* changed into a simple prayer of praying for the faithful, he does but trifle; since there is not a *Catholic* but will own to him, that he hopes for nothing from the *Saints*, but by their prayers, nor renders any honour to *Images* but what is here express'd with relation to God.

Ib. p. 218

Touching *Ceremonies*, these are expressly approved of, viz. *Holy Water*, bless'd Bread, *hal- lowing the Font*, the *Exorcisms* in *Baptism*, giving *Ashes* on *Ash-Wednesday*, bearing *Palms* on *Palm-Sunday*; creeping to the *Cross* on *Good-Friday*, and kissing it in memory of *Christ's death*: all these *Ceremonies* were look'd upon as a kind of *Mysterious language*, which brought to mind God's benefits, and excited the soul to raise itself up to *Heaven*, which, in reality, is the very notion all *Catholics* have of them.

XXVII.
Of cere-
monies:
of the
Cross.
Ib. 217.

The custom of praying for the dead is warranted as having a certain foundation in the *Book*

XXVIII.
On Pur-
gatory and

Masses for
the dead.

Ib. 217.

Collec. of

Rec. T. 1.

add. p.

306.

of *Maccabees*, and a continuation in the *Church* from the beginning: all is approved of, and it's held *consistent with the due order of charity to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in Masses and Exequies, and to give Alms to them for that end*: whereby, that was acknowledged in the *Mass*, which was the great aversion of the new *Reformation*, viz. *that virtue*, by which, independently of communion, it profited those for whom it was said, inasmuch as those souls, doubtless, did not communicate.

XXIX.
The King
decides
concerning
Faith by
his own
authority.

With relation to each of these articles the *King* said, that he injoin'd all *Bishops* to announce them to the people, *By him committed to their spiritual charge*; a language till then quite unheard of in the *Church*. The truth is, when he decided these *points of Faith*, he had before heard the *Bishops*, as *Judges* hear *Lawyers*: but 'twas he that prescribed and decided. All the *Bishops* sign'd, after *Cromwell* the *Vicar-general*, and *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

XXX.
Cranmer
and the
rest sub-
scribed
Henry's
articles
against
their con-
sciences.
Mr. Bur-
net strives
in vain to
excuse
them.
P. 1. l.
111. p.
219.

Mr. Burnet is ashamed to see his *Reformers* approve the chief articles of the *Catholick Doctrine*, and even the *Mass* itself, which alone contain'd them all. But he excuses them by saying, that *some of the Bishops and Divines were not then so fully convinced about some matters, which afterwards they arrived to a clearer understanding of, and so it was their ignorance, and not their cowardice or policy, that made them compliant in some things*. But is not this bantering the world in too gross a manner, to make the *Reformers* ignorant of what was most *essential* in the *Reformation*? If *Cranmer* and his adherents sincerely approved all these articles, even the *Mass*, wherein could they be call'd *Lutherans*? and, if from that time, they rejected in their hearts all these pretended abuses, as doubtless they did, what was their
signing

signing them else, but a shameful prostitution of their consciences? Nevertheless, Mr. Burnet will p. 218. have it at all events, that the *Reformation took a great step* at that very time, because in the first of Henry's articles *the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds were made the standards of the peoples Faith*, with a prohibition of saying any thing that was not conformable to them: a thing which no body denied, and consequently, stood in no need of being reform'd.

Such are the articles of *Faith* which were established by Henry in 1536. But altho' he had omitted some, and in particular no mention was there made of four *Sacraments, Confirmation, Extreme-Unction, Order and Matrimony*; very certain it is nevertheless, that he alter'd nothing therein no more than in the other points of our *Faith*: but his design was to express particularly, in those articles, what was most controverted at that time, to the end he might leave no doubt of his perseverance in the *ancient Faith*.

At this same time, by Cromwell's advice, and in order to draw in the *Gentry* to his sentiments, he sold them in their several *Counties* the lands of those *Monasteries* that had been suppress'd, and at very easy rates. Such was the cunning of the *Reformers*, and such the ties that link'd men to the Reformation.

The *Vice-gerent* published also a new *Ecclesiastical* regulation, which had the doctrine of the above articles, so conformable to *Catholick* Doctrine, for its foundation. Mr. Burnet finds a great likelihood that these injunctions were penn'd by *Cranmer*, and gives us a new instance, that, in point of *Religion*, this *Archbishop* was capable of the most criminal dissimulations.

Henry explain'd himself more distinctly as to the *ancient Faith*, in the famous declaration of

XXXI.
To draw
in the
Gentry,
Church
lands are
sold at low
rates.

ib. 223.
XXXII.
Cromwell
and Cran-
mer con-
firm anew
the Faith
of the
Church,
which they
detested in
their
hearts.

p. 225.
XXXIII.
Henry's fix
those articles.

M D
XXXIX.
L. III. p.
256.

those six articles which he published in 1539. In the first, he establish'd *Transubstantiation*: in the second, *Communion in one kind*: in the third, the *Celibacy of Priests*, with the penalty of death for those who should trespass against it: in the fourth, the obligation of keeping *Vows*: in the fifth, the use of *private Masses*: in the sixth, the necessity of *auricular Confession*. These articles were publish'd by authority of the *King and Parliament*: and it was enacted that those, who obstinately opposed them, should suffer death; and the rest be prisoners during the *King's* pleasure.

XXXIV.
The King's
marriage
with Anne
of Cleve.
Crom-
well's de-
sign who
proposed
it. The
King's new
amours.
Cromwell
condemn'd
to death.
p. 271.

p. 276.

M D XL.

p. 277.

p. 278.

Whilst *Henry* declared himself in so terrible a manner against the pretended *Reformation*, *Cromwell*, the *Vice-gerent*, and the *Archbishop* saw no other way of advancing it, than by giving the *King* a wife, who might protect them and their designs. The *Queen Jane Seymour* died the year 1537, in child bed of *Edward*. If she experienced not *Henry's* fickleness, *Mr. Burnet* is of opinion, it was owing in all likelihood to the shortness of her life. *Cromwell*, who remember'd, how much power *Henry's* wives had over him as long as they continued in his affection, believed that *Anne of Cleve's* beauty would be a great prop to his measures, and prevailed with the *King* to marry her: but unluckily this *Prince* fell in love with *Katherine Howard*; and scarce had he accomplish'd his marriage with *Anne*, but he bent all his thoughts to break it off. The *Vice-gerent* underwent the punishment of having advis'd him to it, and found his ruin where he thought to meet with his support. It was perceived that he gave private encouragement to the *new Preachers*, enemies of the six articles and *Real Presence*, which the *King* defended vehemently. Some words, he let drop on this occasion against the *King*, were brought to his ears. Whereupon the *Parliament*

by

by the *King's* orders, condemn'd him for a *Heretick* and *Traitor* to his *Country*. It was observed, he was condemn'd without being hear'd, and so bore the punishment of that detestable advice he had been the first author of, *To attain people without hearing them*. And after this, will any one say, that the arm of *God* was not visible on these miserable *Reformers*, the most wicked, as we see, no less than the greatest *Hypocrites* of all mankind!

Cromwell above all the rest prostituted his conscience to flattery; he in his quality of *Vice-geregent* authorizing in publick all *Henry's* articles of *Faith*, which he strove underhand to destroy. Mr. *Burnet* conjectures, that, if he was refused a hearing, 'twas because, *It was very probable that in all he had done that way, viz. for the pretended Reformation, he had the King's warrant for it, and acted only by his order, whose proceedings towards a Reformation are well known*. But this bout, the artifice is too gross, and to be deluded by it, a man must wilfully blind himself. Will Mr. *Burnet* have the face to say, that *the proceedings towards a Reformation*, which he attributes to *Henry*, were in prejudice to his *six articles*, or the *Real Presence*, or the *Mass*? This would be giving himself the lye, since he owns throughout his whole work, that this *Prince* was very zealous for, or, to use his own word, *addicted* to, all these articles yet. Nevertheless he would make us believe, that *Cromwell* had secret orders to undermine them, when at the same time, he is put to death for having favoured those who impugned them.

But let us leave Mr. *Burnet's* conjectures, and his vain shifts to colour the *Reformation*; and stick to facts which truth will not suffer him to deny. After *Cromwell's* attainder, it was still requisite

XXXV.

Cromwell's hypocrisy.
Mr. *Burnet's* vain artifices.
p. 279.

XXXVI.

Cranmer's prostitution of conscience. He

annulls the King's marriage with *Anne of Cleve*.

The magnificent terms of this unjust sentence.

The King marries

Katherine Howard,

who is

favourable

to the Re-

formation,

and soon

beheaded

for her in-

famous be-

haviour.

p. 281.

Coll. n.

19.

Ibid.

The judg-

ment of

the convo-

cation.

Collec.

Rec. L.

111. n.

xix. p.

197.

p. 281.

quisite for the King's satisfaction to rid him of his odious wife, by making void the marriage with *Anne of Cleve*. The pretext was very gross. The betrothing of this *Princess* to the *Marquis of Lorraine* whilst both parties were *minors*, and which they never ratified when at age, was alledged for cause of *nullity*. 'Twas plain, nothing could be more weak in order to dissolve a perfectly compleat marriage. But tho' reasons were wanting, the King had a *Cranmer* ready for all jobs, who with as much ease untied this matrimonial noose as he had done twice before. *The sentence was pronounced the ninth of July 1540, and the whole convocation, without one disagreeing vote, judged the marriage null. The sentence was sign'd by all the Ecclesiasticks of both chambers, and seal'd with the seals of both Archbishops.* Mr. Burnet is ashamed, and owns, *This was the greatest piece of compliance that ever the King had from their Clergy.* For *They all knew there was nothing of weight in that pre-contract*, which was made the foundation of the divorce. Therefore they acted openly against their consciences; but lest we should, at another time, be imposed upon by the specious terms of the new *Reformation*, it's proper to take notice, that they pass this sentence, *As representing the general Council*; after having said the King required nothing of them *but what was true, was just, was honourable and holy*: in this manner spoke those *corrupted Bishops*. *Cranmer*, who presided over this assembly, and carried the result of it to the *Parliament*, was the greatest coward of them all; and Mr. Burnet, after having strain'd hard to palliate the matter, is forced to own, that *overcome with fear (for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after Cromwell) he consented with the rest.* Such was the courage of this *second Athanasius*, the virtue of this *second Cyrill*.

Upon

Upon this unjust sentence, the *King* married *Katherine Howard* no less zealous for the new *Reformation* than *Anne Boleyn*. But strange was the destiny that attended these female Reformers. Her *scandalous life* soon brought her to the scaffold, nor was *Henry's* house ever clear from the stains of blood and infamy.

The *Prelates* made a new *Confession of Faith*, XXXVII. which this *Prince* confirm'd by his authority; A new declaration of faith wherein the belief of the *seven Sacraments* was declared in exprefs terms; that of *Penance*, in conformity to the *Absolution* given by the *Priest*; the necessity of *Confession*; *Transubstantiation*; *Concomitancy*: Church's doctrine. *so that*, says Mr. *Burnet*, *Communion in both* Part. I. *kinds was not necessary*; the veneration of *Images* l. III. p. and praying to *Saints*, in the same sense we have 290. & seen in the *King's* first declarations, which is the *seq.* sense of the *Church*: the necessity and merit of good-works in order to obtain life everlasting; prayers for the Dead; and in short, all the rest of the *Catholick* doctrine, except the article of *Supremacy*, whereof we shall speak apart.

Cranmer, with the rest, put his hand to every XXXVIII one; for, altho' Mr. *Burnet* witnesses, some articles passed which were contrary to his sentiments, yet he yielded to the plurality, and observes no opposition, on his side, to the common judgment. The same exposition had been publish'd by the *King's* authority ever since the year 1538, sign'd by nineteen *Bishops*, eight *Archdeacons*, and seventeen *Doctors* without any opposition. Such, at that time, was the *Church of England* and *King Henry's Faith*, whom she had own'd for her Head. The *Archbishop* approved of all against his conscience. His *master's* will was his sovereign Rule: and instead of the *Holy See* with the *Catholick Church*, the *King* alone was to him infallible.

Cranmer's hypocrisy, who signs all of them.

XXXIX.

Nothing
considera-
ble was
changed in
the Missals
and the
other
books of
the
Church.
Continua-
tion of
Cranmer's
hypocrisy.
l. 294.

Mean while, he continued saying *Mass*, which he rejected in his heart, altho' nothing was changed in the *Mass-books*. Mr. Burnet agrees, *The alterations they made were inconsiderable and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the Missals, Breviaries, or other Offices: for, proceeds this historian, a few rasures of these Collects in which the Pope was pray'd for, of Thomas Becket's Office, (St. Thomas of Canterbury) and the offices of other Saints, whose days were by the King's injunctions no more to be observed, with some other deletions, made that the old books did still serve.* After all then, the same worship was still practis'd. Cranmer complied with it; and if you would know all that troubled him, it was, as we learn from Mr. Burnet, because, excepting Fox Bishop of Hereford as great a dissembler as himself, the other Bishops, that adhered to him, were rather clogs than helps to him---- because they would not be managed and govern'd by politick and prudent measures, but were flying at many things, that were not yet abolish'd. Cranmer, who betray'd his conscience, and attack'd in secret, what he approved and practis'd in publick, was more cunning, since he knew how to introduce his skill in managing, his politick measures, into the very heart and vitals of Religion.

p. 254.

p. 255.

XL.

Cranmer's
behaviour
in relation
to the six
Articles.
p. 257.

One may wonder, perchance, how a man of this temper ventured to speak against the *six Articles*; for 'tis the only thing Mr. Burnet makes him courageous in: but he himself discovers the cause to us. 'Twas by reason he had a particular interest in the article which condemn'd married Priests to death, for he was then married himself. It had been too much to suffer his own condemnation to pass in Parliament for a standing law, and his fear even made him then shew some kind of courage: accordingly, tho' he spoke but faintly

faintly against the other articles, yet he deliver'd himself fully against this. But after all, it does not appear that he did any more on this occasion, than, after a vain struggle to dissuade the law, to fall in at last, as his custom was, with the general opinion.

But here is the greatest act of his resolution. XLI.
 Mr. *Burnet* would have us believe, upon the credit of an author of *Cromwell's* life, that the *King*, being concern'd for *Cranmer* on account of the act in behalf of the *six Articles*, was desirous of knowing why he opposed them, and order'd him to put all his arguments in writing; which he did. Mr. Burnet's account of Cranmer's resistance. p. 265.
 The paper, written out fair by his *Secretary*, fell into the hands of one of *Cranmer's* enemies. It was immediately carried to *Cromwell* then living, with the design of having the author taken up. But *Cromwell* stifled the thing, and so *Cranmer* p. 266.
escaped this hazard.

This account naturally leads us to believe, that the *King* knew nothing at all of *Cranmer's* writing against the *six Articles*; and that, had he known it, this *Prelate* would have been utterly ruin'd; and lastly, that he escap'd purely by his cunning and perpetual dissimulation: however, if Mr. *Burnet* had rather have it so, I am willing to believe, the *King* found so great a propensity in *Cranmer* to approve, in publick, all his master could desire, that this *Prince* had no reason to be under any concern what a person of that compliance might think in private, nor could he find in his heart to part with so commodious a *Counsellor*.

It was not only with regard to his new *Mistresses* that the *King* experienced him so great a flatterer: *Cranmer* had forged for him, in his own brain, that new idea of *Supremacy* annex'd to the *Crown*: and what he says concerning it, in a pa-
XLII.
Cranmer's shameful sentiments on the Ecclesiastical authority.

which he
sacrifices
to the
Crown.

Rec. 1. p.
l. 3. n. xxi.
p. 229.

per produced by Mr. Burnet among his *Records*, is unexampled. He teaches then, *That all christian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word, for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance: and in both these ministrations, they must have sundry ministers under them to supply that, which is appointed to their several Offices; as for example; the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord great Master, and the Sheriffs for civil Ministers; and the Bishops, Parsons, Vicars and such other Priests AS BE APPOINTED BY HIS HIGHNESS, in the ministration of the word: as for example, the Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Winchester, the Parson of Winwick, &c. All the said Officers and Ministers, as well of that sort as the other, must be appointed, assign'd, and elected, and in every place, by the laws and orders of Kings and Princes, with diverse solemnities, WHICH BE NOT OF NECESSITY, but only for good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were, nevertheless, truly committed: and there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil Office.*

XLIII.

C. armer's
answer to
an objection.
Shameful
doctrine
concern-
ing the
authority
of the
Church
during
persecuti-
ons.

After thus settling all Ecclesiastical ministry on a simple delegation of Princes, without so much as Ordination or Ecclesiastical Consecration required by him, he obviates an objection which immediately occurs; to wit, how Pastors exercised their authority under Princes that were not Christians; and answers conformably to his principles, that *There was no remedy then for the correction of vice, or appointing of Ministers in the Church of God; but the people accepted of such as were presented*

to

to them by the *Apostles*, or others whom they look'd upon as fill'd with the spirit of *God*, and this of *their own voluntary will*; and afterwards gave ear to them as a good people ready to obey the advice of good Counsellors. This is what *Cranmer* spoke in an assembly of *Bishops*, and this was the notion he had of that *divine power*, which *Jesus Christ* gave to his ministers.

I am under no necessity of rejecting this prodigy of doctrine so much refuted by *Calvin* and all the other *Protestants*, *Mr. Burnet* himself blushing for *Cranmer*, and being willing to take for a retraction of this opinion, what he elsewhere sign'd concerning the *divine institution* of *Bishops*. But besides, what has already appear'd, that his subscriptions are not always a proof of his real sentiments; I must tell *Mr. Burnet*, that he conceals from us, with too much artifice, *Cranmer's* true notions. It made not against him, tho' the institution of *Bishops* and *Priests* were *divine*, and he acknowledges this truth in that very piece, of which we have just produced the extract. For at the close of this ninth question, it's expressly mention'd, that all of them were agreed, and consequently *Cranmer*, that the *Apostles* had received from *God* the power of creating *Bishops* or *Pastors*. Neither could it be deny'd, without too manifestly contradicting the *Gospel*. But what *Cranmer* and his adherents pretended was, that *Jesus Christ* had instituted *Pastors* to exercise their power dependently of the *Prince* in every function; which certainly is the most monstrous and the most scandalous flattery that ever enter'd into the heart of man.

Accordingly, it thence came to pass, that *Henry VIII.* gave the *Bishops* power to visit their *Dioceses* with this *Preface*: that all jurisdiction as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Secular* proceeded from the

XLIV.
Cranmer
always
persisted
in these
sentiments.

Omnes
conveni-
unt.
Rec. i.
part. l.
III. n.
21. p.
223.

XLV.
The dog-
ma, which
makes all
power
Ecclesia-

stick flow
from the
Crown,
reduced to
practise.
Bonniers
Commis.
Ibid. Rec.
n. 14. p.
184.

regal power, as from the first foundation of all Magistracy in all kingdoms: that those, who till then had exercised this power PRECARIOUSLY, were to acknowledge it as coming from the liberality of the Prince, AND GIVE IT UP TO HIM WHEN HE SHOULD THINK FIT: and upon these grounds he gives power to such a Bishop, AS TO THE KING'S VICAR, to visit his Diocese by the regal authority; and to promote, whom he shall judge proper, to holy Orders, and even Priesthood; and in short, to exercise all the Episcopal functions, with power to subdelegate, if he thought it necessary.

XLVI.
Cranmer
acts con-
formably
to this
Dogma, the
only one
wherein
the Refor-
mation has
not varied.
Burn. 2.
part. 1. 1.
p. 6.

Let us say nothing against a doctrine, which destroys itself by its own enormity, and only take notice of that horrid proposition, which makes the power of Bishops so to flow from that of the King, that it's even revocable at his will.

Cranmer was so persuaded of this Royal power, that he was not ashamed, himself Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the whole Church of England, to take out a new commission of the same form under Edward VI. tho' but a child, when he reform'd the Church according to his own model: and of all the articles publish'd by Henry, this was the only one he retain'd.

XLVII.
Queen Eli-
zabeth's
scruple
concerning
the power
given her
in the
Church.
Ibid. 1.
III. p.
386. 376.
2. part. 1.
1. p. 44.

This power was carried to such a pitch in the English Reformation, that Elizabeth had a scruple of it; and the horror men had of seeing a woman the Church's Supreme Head, and the fountain of all Pastoral power, whereof, by her sex, she was incapable, open'd their eyes at length to see, in some measure, that depth they had plunged into. But we shall see, without diminishing the force, or removing the grounds of it, they did no more than just palliate the matter: nor can Mr. Burnet, at this day, but lament to see Excommunication, belonging only to the spiritual cognisance, and which ought to have been reserved for the Bishop with the assistance

stance of the Clergy, by a fatal neglect, given over to secular tribunals, that is, not only to Kings, but likewise to their Officers: an error, proceeds this author, grown since into so form'd a strength, that it is easier to see what is amiss, than to know how to rectify it.

And certainly, I do not conceive any thing can XLVIII.
be imagined more contradictory, than to deny A manifest
their *Kings*, on one side, the administration of contradic-
the *word* and *Sacraments*; and grant them, on tion in the
the other, *Excommunication*, which in reality is English
nothing else but *God's word* arm'd with the *censure* doctrine.
which comes from *Heaven*, and one of the most
essential parts of the administration of the *Sacra-*
ments; since, undoubtedly, the right of depriv-
ing the faithful of them, can appertain to none
else but those, who are appointed by *God* to give
them to the people. But the *Church of England*
went much further, she having attributed to her
Kings and the *secular authority* the right of making
Rituals and *Liturgies*, and even of giving final
judgment without further appeal, in points of
Faith, namely, what is most essential in the ad-
ministration of the *Sacraments*; and the most in-
separably annex'd to the preaching of *God's word*.
And as well under *Henry VIII.* as in the succeed-
ing reigns, we find no *Ritual*, no *Confession* of
Faith, no *Liturgy*, which derive not their ultimate
sanction and force from the authority of the *King*
and *Parliament*, as the sequel will make plain.
They went even to that excess, that, whereas the
Orthodox *Emperors*, if formerly they made any
Constitutions concerning *Faith*, either they made
them in order to put in execution *Church-decrees*,
or at least waited for the confirmation of their
ordinances: in *England* they taught, on the con-
trary, *That the decrees of Councils in points of*
Faith, were not laws, nor of any force, till they

2. par. 1.
11. p.

were ratified by Princes; and this was the fine idea, which Cranmer gave of Church-decisions in a discourse of his reported by Mr. Burnet.

XLIX.
Cranmer's
flattery,
and Hen-
ry's disor-
ders the
cause of
the English
Reforma-
tion.
Pref.

This Reformation therefore took its rise from Henry's vices, and the flatteries of this Archbishop. Mr. Burnet is at a deal of pains to heap up examples of very vicious Princes, whom God has made subservient to great ends. Who questions it? But, without examining the histories he quotes, where he blends truth with falsehood, certain with doubtful; can he shew one only example, where God, intending to reveal to men some important, and, during so many ages, unknown Truth, not to say utterly unheard of, ever did chuse so scandalous a King as Henry VIII. and so base, so corrupt a Bishop as Cranmer? If the schism of England, if the English Reformation be a divine work, nothing in it is more divine than the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy, since, by that, not only did commence the breach with Rome, the necessary foundation, according to Protestants, of every good Reformation, but that also is the only point wherein they have never varied since the Schism. God made choice of Henry VIII. to introduce this new article of Faith among Christians, and withal, made choice of this very Prince to be a remarkable instance of his most profound and most terrible judgments: not of that sort, by which he subverts Monarchies, and gives to impious Kings a manifestly disastrous end; but of that other, whereby, delivering them over to their Flatterers and Passions, he suffers them to run headlong into the utmost excess of wilful blindness. Mean time, while he thinks fit, he withholds them on this brink, in order to make manifest in them those mysteries of his counsels, he is willing men should know: Henry VIII. attempts nothing against the other Catholick verities. All his attacks
are

are levell'd only at *St. Peter's chair*: by that, it became apparent to the whole universe, that this Prince's design was only to revenge himself on that *Pontifical power*, which had condemn'd him, and that his hatred was his sole *Rule of Faith*.

After that, I am under no necessity of examining all Mr. *Burnet* relates, whether as to the intrigues of *Conclaves*, or the behaviour of *Popes*, or the artifices of *Clement VII.* What advantage can he draw from thence? Nor *Clement*, nor the other *Popes* are, amongst us, the authors of any new *article of Faith*. Nor have they separated us from the holy *Society* in which we were baptiz'd; nor have they taught us to condemn our *ancient Pastors*. In a word, they make no *Seet* among us, and their *vocation* has nothing in it that's *extraordinary*. If they enter not by the *door*, which is always open in the *Church*, that is, by *canonical* ways, or, if they make ill use of the *ordinary* and lawful *ministry* intrusted to them from above, 'tis the very case specified in the *Gospel*, of honouring the *chair* without approving, or imitating, the *persons*. Nor ought I at all concern myself whether *Julius the second's* dispensation were well given, nor whether *Clement VII.* could, or ought, to revoke it, and annul the marriage. For altho' I look upon it as certain, that this last *Pope* did well in the main, and, in my opinion, nothing can be blamed on this occasion but, at the most, his *Policy*, one while too timorous, and another, too precipitous; this is not a question for me to decide in this place, nor a pretext for impeaching the *Church of Rome* of error. These matters of *dispensation* are often regulated by simple *probabilities*; nor is one obliged to look therein for the *certainty of Faith*, whereof they are not always even capable. But since Mr. *Burnet*

L.

It concerns not Faith to examine the conduct of *Clement VII.* and his methods of proceeding.

Matth.
xxiii. 2.

makes

makes of this a *capital accusation* against the *Church of Rome*, I cannot, methinks, but dwell a little upon it.

LI.
The account of the marriage dispute enter'd upon. The fact is laid down. The vain pretexts with which Henry cover'd his passion.
Burn. 1. p. 1. 11. p. 36.

Ibid.

Ibid. p. 36.

LII.
Julius's dispensation on attack'd by argu-

'Tis a fact notoriously known, that *Henry VII.* had obtain'd a *dispensation* from *Julius II.* to marry the widow of *Arthur*, his eldest son, to *Henry* his second son and successor. This *Prince*, after he had seen all the reasons for doubting, consummated, when a King and at age, this marriage with the unanimous consent of all the *Estates* of his *Realm* the third of *June 1509*, that is, six weeks after his coming to the *Crown*. Twenty years elapsed, without calling in question a marriage so sincerely and honestly contracted. *Henry* fallen in love with *Anne Boleyn*, call'd conscience in to assist his passion, and his marriage becoming odious to him, at the same time, became doubtful and suspected. Mean while, a *Princess* had sprung from this marriage, who from her infancy had been acknowledged heir of the *Kingdom*; so that the pretext, which *Henry* took for breaking off the marriage, lest, said he, the succession of the *Realm* should be doubtful, was meerly a pretext, since none dreamt of disputing it with his daughter *Mary*, who, in fact, was unanimously own'd for *Queen*, when the order of birth call'd her to the *Crown*. On the contrary, if any thing could obstruct the succession of this great *Kingdom*, 'twas *Henry's* doubt; and it appears, that all he publish'd, relating to the doubtfulness of his *succession*, was nothing but a cloak, as well for his new amour, as for the disgust he had taken to the *Queen* his wife on account of some infirmities she had contracted, as *Mr. Burnet* himself owns.

A *Prince*, whom *passion* rules, would have it believed he has reason on his side: so to please *Henry*, the *dispensation*, on which his marriage was grounded, was attack'd several ways, some taken

taken from *Fact*, others from *Right*. As to *Fact*, the dispensation was maintain'd to be null, because granted on false allegations. But as these arguments of *Fact* reduced to these minute niceties were over-ruled by the favourable condition of a marriage, that had subsisted so many years; those from *Right* were chiefly insisted on, and the dispensation maintain'd null, as granted in prejudice to the law of *God*, which the *Pope* could not dispense with.

ments
from fact
and right,

The question was, whether or no the prohibition in *Leviticus*, not to contract within certain degrees of consanguinity or affinity, and among others, that of marrying the brother's widow, did so appertain to the law of nature, as to be obligatory in the Gospel law. The reason for doubting was, because we do not read, that *God* ever dispensed with what was purely of the law of nature: for example, since the multiplication of mankind, there has been no instance of *God's* permitting the marriage of *Brother* and *Sister*, nor others of this nature in the first degree, whether ascending, or descending, or collateral. Now, there was an express law in *Deuteronomy*, *Deut. xxv.* which, in certain cases, injoin'd a *Brother* to take 5. his *Sister-in-law* and the widow of his brother, to wife. *God* therefore, not destroying nature, which he is the author of, gave thereby to understand, that this marriage was not of that sort which nature rejects, and this was the foundation which *Julius* the second's dispensation was grounded upon.

LIII.

Argu-
ments of
right
grounded
on *Leviti-
cus*. The
state of
the questi-
on.

Levit.

xviii. 20.

We must do the *Protestants* of *Germany* this justice: *Henry* could never obtain from them the approbation of his new marriage, nor the condemnation of *Julius* the second's dispensation. When this affair was spoken of in a solemn *Embassy*, which this *Prince* sent to *Germany* in order

LIV.

The Pro-
testants of
Germany
favourable
to *Julius's*
dispensati-
on, and
to

Henry's
first marri-
age.

Lib. iv.
Ep. 185.
Ibid. Ep.
183.

to join himself to the *Protestant confederacy*, *Melancthon* decided thus: *We have not been of the English Ambassador's opinion: for we believe, the law of not wedding a brother's wife, is susceptible of dispensation, altho' we do not believe it to be abolish'd.* And again, more concisely in another place: *The Ambassadors pretend, that the prohibition against marrying a brother's wife is indispensable; and we on the contrary maintain it may be dispensed with.* This was exactly what they stood for at *Rome*, and *Clement VII's* definitive sentence against the divorce rested on this foundation.

LV.
Bucer of
the same
opinion.

Burn. l.
11. p. 92.

Bucer was of the same opinion upon the same motives, and we learn from *Mr. Burnet*, that, according to this author, one of *England's Reformers*, the law of *Leviticus* did not bind, and could not be moral, because God hath dispensed with it.

LVI.
Zuinglius
and *Cal-*
vin of the
contrary
opinion.
lb. p. 94.

Zuinglius and *Calvin* with their disciples were favourable to the *King of England*, and 'tis not unlikely, but that a design of settling their doctrine in that *Kingdom*, contributed not a little to their complaisance: but the *Lutherans* sided not with them, altho' *Mr. Burnet* makes them to vary a little in the matter: At first *they thought*, says he, *the laws in Leviticus were not moral, and did not oblige Christians ---- Yet after much disputing they were induced to change their minds, but could not be brought to think, that a marriage once made might be annull'd.*

LVII.
The odd
decision of
the *Luthe-*
rans.
Collec. of
Rec. part.
1. l. 11.
n. 35.

And truly their decision, as reported by *Mr. Burnet*, is a very odd one; since, after their owning that *The law of Leviticus is divine, natural, and moral, and to be observed as such in all Churches, insomuch that a marriage, contracted contrary to this law with a brother's widow, is incestuous;* they conclude nevertheless, that this marriage ought not to be broken; with some doubt

doubt at first, but at length, by a final and definitive determination, as Mr. Burnet owns: so that, an incestuous marriage, a marriage made contrary to divine, moral, and natural laws, which still remain in their full force throughout the whole Christian Church, ought to subsist, in their judgment, nor is a divorce, in this case, allowable.

This the *Lutherans* decision is by Mr. Burnet refer'd to the year 1530. That of *Melancthon* just mention'd is posterior, and in 1536. Howsoever, 'tis a favourable precedent for *Julius* the second's dispensation, and the sentence of *Clement VII.* that these *Popes* have met with defenders among those, who sought nothing more than to censure their proceedings at any rate.

LVIII.
Remarks
on the
conformi-
ty of the
Protestants
opinions
with the
sentence of
Clement
VII.

The *Protestants* of *Germany* were so resolute in this sentiment, that for all the ties and interests *Cranmer* had then with 'em he could engage none on his master's side, but only his brother-in-law *Osfander*, whose authority will hereafter appear of no great weight.

As for *Catholicks*, Mr. Burnet acquaints us that *Henry VIII.* had bribed two or three *Cardinals*. Without informing myself of the truth of these facts, I shall observe only, that a cause must be bad indeed, that stands in need of such infamous supports. And as for the *Doctors*, whose subscriptions Mr. Burnet boasts to us; where is the wonder, that in so corrupted an age, so great a *King* was able to find those, who were not proof against his presents and solicitations? Our historian will not allow us to call in question the authority of *Fra-Paolo*, nor of *Thuanus*. Let him then give ear to these two historians. One says, that *Henry* having consulted in Italy, in *Germany*, and in *France*, he found one part of the *Divines* favourable, and the other contrary. That

LIX.
Henry
bribes
some Ca-
tholick
Doctors.

T. i. Pref.

Hist. del.
Conc.
Trid. lib.
i. An.

the 1534

Thu. Hist.
lib. 1. An.
1534. p.
20.

the greatest number of those of Paris were for him, and many believed they had done it more from the persuasion of the King's money, than that of his arguments. The other says, that Henry made diligent enquiry into the opinions of Divines, and in particular, of those at Paris, and the report ran, that these being gain'd by money, had subscribed in favour of the divorce.

LX.
Concerning the pretended consultation of the Paris-faculty of Divinity.
Rec. part.
1. l. 11.
n. 34. p.
89.

I will not decide, whether the conclusion of the Faculty of divinity, at Paris, produced by Mr. Burnet in favour of Henry's pretensions be true or no: others will take this question in hand: this only shall I say, that it's very much to be suspected, as well on account of the stile, far different from that which the faculty is accustomed to make use of, as because Mr. Burnet's conclusion is dated the second of July, 1530, at the Mathurin's; whereas, at that time, and for some years before, the assemblies of the faculty were held commonly in the Sorbon.

LXI.
The testimony of the Lawyer Charles du Moulin.
Not. ad Conf. 602.

In the notes, which Charles du Moulin, that renown'd Civilian, has made on Decius's Consultations, he speaks of the debate of the Doctors of Divinity at Paris in favour of the King of England the first of June, 1530, but this author places it in the Sorbon. He makes but little account of this declaration, wherein the party that favour'd the King of England, carried it by fifty three votes against forty two; which majority of eight voices, says he, deserved no great weight, on account of the English ANGELS of gold, which were distributed for the purchase of it: this he affirms, he knew from the attestations, which the Presidents du Fresne and Poliot had given in by order of Francis I. Whence he concludes, the true judgment of the Sorbon, that is, their genuine and unbought judgment, was that which favour'd the King's marriage with Katherine. It is moreover

moreover very certain, that, during the deliberation, *Francis*, who then favour'd the *King of England*, had charg'd *M. Lisset* the first *President*, to solicit the *Doctors* in his behalf, as appears by the original letters still kept in the *King's Library*, wherein the *President* gives an account of his diligent compliance. Whether then this deliberation was made by the *Faculty* in body assembled, or whether it was only the judgment of several *Doctors* publish'd in *England* under the name of the *Faculty*, as happens in like cases, matters very little for me to examine into at present. It's apparent enough, that the *King of England's* conscience was rather burden'd than eased by such consultations, carried on by intrigue, by money, and by the authority of two so great *Monarchs*. The rest of them, alledged by our author, were not transacted with more integrity. *Mr. Burnet* himself assures us, that the *King of England's* agent in *Italy*, in many of his letters said, that if Lib. II. p. 90. he had money enough, he did not doubt but he should get the hands of all the *Divines* in *Italy*. Money therefore, not the good-will, was wanting. But Ibid. not to dwell any longer on the minute stories, *Mr. Burnet* is so triflingly circumstantial in, there is no body but will own, that *Clement VII.* had been too unworthy of his place, if, in an affair of this importance, he had shew'd the least regard to these mercenary consultations.

And indeed, the question was determin'd on more solid principles. It appear'd clearly, that the prohibition of *Leviticus* bore not the character of a natural and indispensable law, since God derogated from it in other places. The dispensation of *Julius II.* grounded on this reason, had so probable a foundation, that it appear'd such even to the *Protestants* of *Germany*. And, in order to raise some diversity of sentiments on this matter,

LXII.
Reasons
for the
decision of
Clement
VII.

matter, it was sufficient that the dispensation was not evidently contrary to the *divine Laws*, which oblige Christians. This matter then was of the nature of such things, wherein all depends on the prudence of *Superiors*, where sincerity and uprightness of heart must give all the repose conscience can have. Nor was it also but visible, that, had it not been for *Henry VIII's* new fit of love, the *Church* never had been troubled with the shameful proposal of a divorce, after a marriage contracted and continued with a good conscience so many years. Here is the knot of the affair; and without speaking of the process, wherein per-chance policy, good or bad, might intervene, *Clement* the seventh's decision, when all is said, will be a testimony to future ages, that the *Church* knows not how to flatter the passions of *Princes*, nor approve their scandalous proceedings.

LXIII.
Two
points of
Reforma-
tion under
Henry
VIII.
according
to Mr.
Burnet.

LXIV.
I. Point.
The read-
ing of the
Scripture
how gran-
ted to the
people un-
der *Henry*
VIII.
L. 111. p.
293.
Ibid.
p. 303.

We might here conclude what concerns the reign of *Henry VIII.* did not Mr. *Burnet* oblige us to consider two commencements of *Reformation*, which he remarks at this time: one is, his putting the *Scripture* into the hands of the people; the other, his shewing that every *Nation*, independently of others, might reform themselves.

As for what regards the *Bible*; this is what *Henry VIII.* said in 1540, in his *Preface* to the exposition of the *Christian Faith* above spoken of: *That, whereas there were some teachers, whose Office it was to instruct the people; so, the rest ought to be taught, and to those it was not necessary to read the Scriptures: and that therefore he had restrain'd it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for such to hear the doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their Preachers.*

Afterwards, he allow'd the reading of it that same year, upon condition, *That his subjects should*

should not presume to expound, or take arguments from Scripture; which was obliging them anew to refer themselves to the *Pastors* of the *Church* for *Scripture interpretations*; in which case, 'tis agreed, the reading of this *divine book* must undoubtedly be very wholesom. Moreover, if at that time the *Bible* was turn'd into the *vulgar language*, there was nothing new in that practice. We have the like versions for the use of *Catholics* in ages preceding the pretended *Reformation*; nor is that a point of our controversies.

Mr. *Burnet* pretending to shew, that the progress of the new *Reformation* was owing to the reading of *Scripture* allow'd to the people, ought to have taken notice, that they were before-hand prepared, from the pulpit, by artful and cunning *Preachers*, who had fill'd their heads with new interpretations. In this manner was it, that an ignorant and head-strong people found indeed nothing in *Scripture* but those errors they had been prepossess'd with: and what hasten'd and completed their ruin was the rashness inspired into them, of every man's deciding for himself, which was the true sense of *Scripture*, of every man's making for himself, his own *Creed*. Thus was it that ignorant and prejudiced people found, in *Scripture*, the pretended *Reformation*: but, what man is there of the least sincerity that will deny me, that, by the same means, they every whit as clearly would have found *Arianism* in it, as they conceived they did *Lutheranism* or *Calvinism*?

LXV.
Whether the progress of the Reformation be owing to the reading of the *Scripture*, and in what manner.

When this notion is once put into the heads of the ignorant, that all is clear in *Scripture*, that they understand it in all that's necessary for them, and therefore, the judgment of all the *Pastors* and ages is quite needless to them: they take for certain truth the first sense that offers, and what they are accusom'd to always appears the most genuine.

LXVI.
How men are deceived by *Scripture* ill-interpreted.

But, they ought to be made sensible, that, in this case, 'tis the *letter* often which kills, and in those very passages, which appear the most plain, God has often hid the greatest and most awful mysteries.

LXVII.
Proof
from Mr.
Burnet of
the snares
laid for the
unlearn'd
in the pre-
tended
perspicui-
ty of
Scripture.
Exod. xii.
11.

2. *Part. 1.*
1. p. 171.

Ibid.

Ibid.

For example, Mr. *Burnet* proposes to us this text, *Drink ye all of this*, as one of the most clear that can be imagined, and which leads us the most directly to the necessity of *both kinds*. But it will now appear to him, from what he owns himself, that, what he thinks so plain, becomes a snare to the ignorant: for these words, *Drink ye all of this*, in the *institution* of the *Eucharist*, are not after all more plain than these in the *institution* of the *Passover*: *thus shall ye eat the Paschal Lamb, with your loins girded, and your staff in your hand*: consequently, standing; and in the posture of people ready to depart, for that indeed was the spirit of this *Sacrament*. Nevertheless, we are assured by Mr. *Burnet*, this was not practised by the *Jews*: *who, afterwards, changed this custom into the common table posture, and lay down, according to the Country fashion, at the eating of the Lamb, as at other meals*; and that this *Change*, which they made in the *divine institution*, we are sure was not criminal, since our Saviour made no scruple in complying with it. I ask him in this case, whether a man who should have taken this *divine commandment literally*, without consulting the *Church's Tradition* and Interpretation, would not have found in it his certain death, since he would have found in it the condemnation of *Jesus Christ*; and whereas this author adds afterwards; *It seem'd reasonable to allow the Christian Church the like power in such things with the Jewish*: why then should a Christian, in the new *Passover*, believe he has seen every thing relating to the *Supper*, upon reading the words only of the *institution*? and will not he be obliged to examine,

examine, besides these words, the *Church's Tradition*, in order to know what she always look'd upon as *necessary* and *indispensable*, in the *Communion*? Without pushing this examination any farther, this is enough to shew Mr. *Burnet*, they must of necessity come into it; nor can the pretended perspicuity, which the illiterate think they find in these words, *Drink ye all of this*, be any thing but an illusion.

The second ground of *Reformation*, pretended to be laid by *Henry VIII.* Mr. *Burnet* makes to consist in the establishment of this *Principle*, that every national Church was a complete Body within itself, so that the Church of England, with the authority and concurrence of their Head and King, might examine and reform all errors and corruptions, whether in doctrine or worship. These are fine words. Discover but their meaning, and you'll find, that such a *Reformation* is nothing but a *Schism*. A Nation, which looks on itself as a complete Body, which regulates its Faith, in particular, without regard to what the rest of the Church believes, is a Nation which separates itself from the universal Church, and renounces Unity of Faith and sentiments, so much recommended to the Church by *Jesus Christ* and his *Apostles*. When a Church thus cantoned makes the King her head, she gives herself, in matters of Religion, a principle of Unity, which *Jesus Christ* and the Gospel have not establish'd; changes the Church into a body politic, and gives room to erect as many separate Churches, as States may be form'd. This idea of *Reformation*, and Church was first conceived in the brain of *Henry VIII.* and his flatterers, nor ever before had Christians been acquainted with it.

We are told, that all the *Provincial Councils* in the ancient Church, were so many *Precedents* for this,

LXVIII.

Henry VIII's second point of *Reformation* according to Mr. *Burnet*. That the Church of England acted by a schismatical principle, when she believed she could regulate her Faith independently of all the rest of the Church. *Pref. & 1. par. 1. 111. p. 294.*

LXIX.

Whether the

Church of
England
in this fol-
low'd the
ancient
Church,
as Mr.
Burnet
pretends
it did.

Ibid. Pref

*Conc.
Milev.
cap. 2.
Epist.
Alex.
Episc.
Alexan-
driæ ad
Alex. Con-
stantinop.*

this, who condemn'd heresies, and reform'd abuses. But this is visibly imposing on mankind. True it is, *Provincial Councils* were obliged immediately to condemn *Heresies* which arose in their respective countries: for in order to suppress them, ought they to have waited till the contagion had spread, and alarm'd the whole *Church*? Nor is that our question. What he should have made appear to us is, that these *Churches* lookt on themselves as a *complete Body* in the same manner, they do in *England*; and reform'd their doctrine, without taking for rule, what the *whole Body* of the *Church* unanimously did believe. Of this, I say, no example will ever be produced. When the *African Fathers* condemn'd the infant heresy of *Celestius* and *Pelagius*, they laid for foundation the prohibition of interpreting the *Holy Scripture* otherwise, than the *Catholick Church*, spread over the whole earth, had always interpreted and understood it. *Alexander of Alexandria* laid down the same foundation against *Arius*, when condemning him he said: *We know but one Catholick and Apostolick Church, the which, incapable of being subverted by the world's whole power, overthrows every impiety, every heresy.* And again; *In every one of these articles we believe what hath pleased the Apostolick Church.* Thus did the *Bishops* and particular *Councils* condemn *Heresies* by a prior judgment, by conforming themselves to the common Faith of the *whole Body*. These decrees were sent to all *Churches*, and from this *Unity* they drew their utmost force.

LXX. But, say they, the remedy of an *universal Council*, easy under the *Roman Empire*, when the *Churches* had one common *Sovereign*, is become too difficult, now *Christendom* is divided into so many *States*: another fallacy. For, in the first place, the consent of *Churches* may be declared other

Whether
the
Church of
England
had reason
to believe,

other ways, than by *general Councils*: witness, in *St. Cyprian*, the condemnation of *Novatian*; witness, that of *Paul of Samosata*, of whom it was written, that he had been condemn'd by *the Council and judgment of all the Bishops of the world*, because all had consented to the *Council* held against him at *Antioch*; lastly, witness the *Pelagians*, and so many other heresies, which, without a *general Council*, have been sufficiently condemn'd by the united *authority* of the *Pope* and all the *Bishops*. When the necessities of the *Church* required a *general Council* to be assembled, the *Holy Ghost* always provided means; and so many *Councils*, as have been held since the fall of the *Roman Empire*, have made it plainly appear, that to assemble the *Pastors* when requisite, there needed not its assistance. The reason is, because, in the *Catholic Church*, there is a principle of *Unity* independent of the *Kings of the earth*. To deny this, is making the *Church* their captive, and rendering the heavenly government, instituted by *Jesus Christ*, defective. But the *English Protestants* would not acknowledge this *Unity*, because the *Holy See* is the external and common band thereof; and it was more agreeable to them, to have, in matters of *Religion*, their *King* for their *Head*, than to own, in *St. Peter's chair*, a Principle by God establish'd for the *Unity* of all *Christians*.

that now a days it is too difficult a thing to consult the Faith of the whole Church.
Ep. Alex.
Episc.
Alex. ad Alex.
Constanti.

The *six Articles*, publish'd by the authority of *King and Parliament*, had force of law during the whole reign of *Henry VIII*. But what sway over consciences can decrees concerning *Religion* have, which, drawing all their strength from *regal authority*, to which God has intrusted no such commission, have nothing in them but what's *political*? Tho' *Henry VIII*. inforced them with innumerable executions, and cruelly put to

LXXI.
All sorts of novel-
ties crept
into En-
gland in
spite of
the severi-
ties of
Henry VIII.
The rea-
son why.

death, not only *Catholicks*, who detested his *Supremacy*, but also the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, who impugn'd the other articles of his faith; all manner of errors crept insensibly into *England*, nor did the people any longer know what to stand to, when they saw *St. Peter's chair* despised, from whence, 'twas notorious, *Faith* first came to this great *Isle*, whether the conversion of its inhabitants, under *Pope Eleutherius*, be consider'd, or that of the *English*, which was procured by *St. Gregory the great*.

The whole establishment of the *Church of England*, the whole order of her discipline, the whole disposition of the *Hierarchy* in this *Kingdom*; in a word, the *Mission*, as well as the *Consecration* of *Bishops*, was so certainly derived from this great *Pope* and the chair of *St. Peter*, or from *Bishops* holding him for the *Head* of their *Communion*, that the *English* could not renounce this power, without weakening among them even the origin of *Christianity*, and all the authority of ancient traditions.

LXXII. When they set about rejecting the authority of the *Holy See* in *England*, it was observed by them, that *Gregory the great* had exclaim'd against the ambition of that title of universal *Bishop*, and refused it much about the time that *England* received the *Faith* from those he sent over; whence concluded *Cranmer* and his associates, *When our Ancestors received the Faith, the authority of the See of Rome was within the limits of a laudable moderation*.

11. p. 139.
LXXIII. Not to dispute, in vain, on this title of *Universal* which the *Popes* never do assume, and may be more or less supportable according to the different senses it's taken in; let us consider a while what *St. Gregory*, who rejected it, believed nevertheless relating to the authority of his *See*. Two passages

They argued in *England* from false principles, when they rejected the *Pope's* *Supremacy*. *Burn.* 1. part. 1.

Whether *St. Gregory* *Pope*, under whom the *English*

sages known to the whole world will decide this question. *As for what concerns, says he, the Church of Constantinople, who questions its being subjected to the See Apostolick, the which neither the Emperor, nor our brother Eusebius Bishop of that City, do cease to acknowledge?* And in the following letter, speaking of the *Primate of Africa*: *as to what he says, he is subject to the See Apostolick, I know no Bishop that is not subject to it when delinquent. Furthermore, when delinquency requires not otherwise, we are all brethren according to the law of humility.* Here then have we all *Bishops* manifestly subject to the authority and correction of the *Holy See*, and this authority acknowledged even by the *Church of Constantinople*, at that time the second *Church* of the whole world in dignity and power. Here is the foundation of the *Pontifical power*: the rest, which custom, or toleration, or, if you please, even abuse might have introduced, or increased, might be preserved, or suffer'd, or extended more or less, as order, peace, and publick tranquillity should require. *Christianity* was born in *England* with the confession of this *authority*. *Henry VIII.* could not endure it, *even with this laudable moderation* own'd by *Cranmer* in *St. Gregory*: his passion and policy made him annex it to his Crown, and, by this so strange an *Innovation*, he open'd the way for all that follow'd.

were converted, had different notions of the authority of his See, from what we have.
Lib. VII. ind. 2. Ep. 64. Ibid. Ea. 65.

Some say, this unhappy *Prince*, near his end, felt some remorse for the excesses he had run into, and, in order to calm his conscience, sent for some *Bishops* to him. I vouch it not: those, who, in scandalous sinners, but particularly in *Kings*, are for discovering such biting stings of conscience as appear'd in an *Antiochus*, are not acquainted with all God's ways, nor reflect sufficiently on that deadly insensibility and false peace, he sometimes

LXXIV.
 Death of
Henry VIII.

suffers his greatest enemies to fall into. Be that as it will; should *Henry* have consulted his *Bishops*, what could be expected from a Body which had enslaved the *Church*? Whatever demonstrations *Henry* might give of desiring to be sincerely advised in this juncture, he could not restore to the *Bishops* that liberty, which his cruelties had deprived them of: dreadful to them were the vicissitudes of temper this *Prince* was subject to: and he, who could not brook truth from the mouth of *Thomas More* his *Chancellor*, nor from the holy *Bishop* of *Rocheſter*, both whom he put to death for speaking it freely to him, never more deserved to hear it.

LXXV.

Every thing is changed after his death. The young King's Guardian is a *Zuinglian*.

M D

XLVII.

M D

XLVIII.

LXXVI.

The Reformation founded on the ruin of Ecclesiastical authority.

Burn. 1.

part. 1.

III. p.

267.

In this state he died; and no wonder, if after his death, things grew worse. The foundations once shaken, by little and little all goes to ruin. *Edward VI.* his only son succeeded him according to the law of the land. As he was scarce ten years old, the *Kingdom* was govern'd by a *Council* appointed by the deceased *King*: but *Edward Seymour* Brother to *Queen Jane* and the *King's Uncle* by the Mother's side, had the chief authority with the title of *Protector* of the *Kingdom of England*. A *Zuinglian* in his heart, and *Cranmer* his bosom friend. This *Archbishop* then threw off the mask, nor did he longer conceal any of that venom which lay lurking in his heart against the *Church*.

In order to prepare the way for their intended *Reformation* under the *King's* name, they set out by declaring him, as *Henry* had been before, the *supreme Head* of the *Church of England* in *spirituals* and *temporals*. In *Henry's* time it was a settled maxim, that *the King was Pope in England*. But far different prerogatives were confert'd on this new *Papacy*, than the *Pope* had ever pretend- ed to. The *Bishops* took out new commissions from *Edward* revocable at the *King's* pleasure,

as

as heretofore had been enjoin'd in King Henry's 2. part. 1.
time; and, in order to advance the Reformation, 1. p. 6.
it was judg'd necessary to keep them under the sub- Col. of
jection of an arbitrary Power. The Archbishop of Rec. 2.
Canterbury and Primate of all England was the part. 1. 1.
first to bend his neck under this shameful yoke. p. 90.
 This is not to be wonder'd at, since he was the
 person who inspired all these sentiments: the rest
 did but follow the pernicious *example he set to*
them. This was somewhat moderated afterwards, Ibid.
 and the Bishops were obliged to look upon it as a
 favour, *to hold their Bishopricks of the King,* Ibid.
during life. In the tenor of their commissions was
 plainly express'd, as under *Henry*, that, pursuant
 to *Cranmer's* doctrine, the Episcopal power, as
 well as that of the secular magistracy, flow'd from
 the Crown as from its source; that the *Bishops* ex-
 ercised it only *precariously, as delegates in the* Ibid. &
King's name, and which they were to deliver up 1. part. p.
again, when it should please him to call for it, 276.
 from whom they had received it. The King
 gave them faculties *to ordain and deprive mini-* 2. Part. 1.
sters, inflict censures and punish scandalous persons, 1. p. 218.
and to do all the other parts of the Episcopal function;
all which they were to execute and do in the King's
name and under his authority. At the same time,
 it was own'd, that this pastoral charge was com-
 mitted to *Bishops by the word of God.* It was ne-
 cessary to make use of this *word*, to give them-
 selves credit. But altho' nothing was found there-
 in for the *regal power*, except what related to the
 concerns of this world, it was nevertheless extend-
 ed to what is most sacred in the Pastoral charge.
 Commissions for consecrating Bishops were issued
 out by the King, and directed to whom he
 pleased. So that, according to this new *Hierar-*
chy, as the *Bishops* were not consecrated but by the
royal authority, so by the same only could they
 proceed

Ibid. l. 1. proceed to *Ordination*. Even the form and prayers of *Ordination*, as well of *Bishops*, as of *Priests*, were regulated by *Parliament*. The same was done in respect to the *Liturgy* and publick service, and the whole administration of the *Sacraments*. In a word, all was subject to the King, and, upon abolishing the ancient law, the *Parliament*, it seems, was to make a new body of *Canons*. All these attempts were grounded on a maxim, which the *Parliament* of *England* had laid down for a new article of their Faith, viz. *That all Jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal was derived from the King*, as from its source.

Ibid. p. 43.

LXXVII. 'Tis not here to our purpose to deplore the calamities of the *Church* thus enslaved, and shamefully degraded by her own ministers. Our business is to relate facts, and a bare relation of them will suffice to shew their enormity. Not long after, the King declared, *he intended to visit his Kingdom, therefore, neither the Archbishops nor any other should exercise any Jurisdiction while that visitation lasted*. There was proclamation from the King, commanding all, *to remember him in the publick prayers as the supreme Head of the Church of England, which was to be observ'd under the pains of Excommunication, Sequestration, or Deprivation*. Thus, together with Ecclesiastical censures, the whole *Pastoral* authority is openly invaded by the King, and the most sacred *depositum* of the *Sanctuary* wrested from the Priestly order, not sparing even that of Faith, which the *Apostles* had left to their Successors.

Ibid. 27. & Col. n. 7.

Ibid. 29.

LXXVIII
Reflexion
on the mi-
serable be-
ginnings
of the Re-
formation,
wherein

I cannot but stop here a moment to consider the ground-work of the *English Reformation*, *That work of light, a full and distinct narrative whereof makes its Apology as well as history*. The *Church of England* glories, above all others of the *Reformation*, for having proceeded orderly and by lawful

lawful assemblies. To afford some colour for this boasting, it was in the first place and above all necessary, that *Ecclesiasticks* should have had the chief share in the management of this great alteration in *Religion*. But quite the reverse was done, and ever since the time of *Henry VIII.* *they were cut off from meddling with it, except, as they were authorized by the King.* All the complaint they made amounted to no more, than that an encroachment was made *on their privileges*; as if for them to meddle with *Religion*, were only a privilege and not *essential* to the very Being of the *Ecclesiastical Order*.

the sacred order had no share in the affairs of Religion and Faith. S. n. 2. Burn. 2. part. l. 1, p. 49.

But perchance one may imagine they met with better treatment under *Edward*, when, as Mr. *Burnet* pretends, the *Reformation* was set on a more solid bottom. Quite the contrary; they begg'd it as a favour of the Parliament, *At least, that matters of Religion should not be determin'd till they had been consulted, and had reported their opinions and reasons.* What a wretched state had they brought themselves to, not to intermeddle otherwise than by barely offering their opinions; they, who were the proper judges in such cases, and of whom *Christ* had said, *He that hears you, hears me!* but this, says our Historian, could not be obtain'd. But at least, it may be allow'd 'em to decide on articles of Faith of which they were the Preachers. By no means. The *King's Councilors* resolved to follow the method begun by the late *King*, of sending visitors over England with *Ecclesiastical Injunctions* and *Articles of Faith*; and it was the business of the *King's Council* to regulate the *Articles of Religion* that were to be proposed to the people by his authority. Mean while, the six Articles of *Henry VIII.* were to be adher'd to, until they should think better of it: nor were they ashamed to require of the *Bishops* an express declaration,

Ibid.

Rec. n. 16, 17.

p. 26.

p. 59. ration, *to make profession of such doctrine as afterwards, at any time, should be certified by the Archbishop to the other Bishops in the King's name.* Besides, 'twas but too evident, the Clergy were only named for form-sake, since all was done in the King's name.

LXXIX.

The King is made absolute master of the Pulpit, and forbids Preaching all over his Kingdom till further orders.

p. 61.

p. 80.

It seems, we need say no more after the relation of such great excesses. But lamentable as it is, let us continue it. 'Tis in some manner labouring to heal the Church's wounds to bewail them in the sight of God. The King took to himself so absolute an authority over the *Word* and *Preaching*, that a *Proclamation* was issued out, by which *none were to preach without licence from the King or his Visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of the Diocese.* So that, the chief right was in the King, nor had the Bishops, but by his permission only, any share therein. Some time after, the *Council* allows those to preach, who were *lively to set forth the pure word of God after such sort as the Holy Ghost should for the time put in the Preacher's mind.* The *Council*, it seems, had changed their minds. After they had made Preaching depend on the regal power, they here leave it to the discretion of those, who should imagine themselves fill'd with the *Holy Ghost*, and by this means, all Fanaticks are admitted to it. The year following, they changed again. *To restrain the clashing and contention of Pulpits, the power of granting licences to preach, was taken from the Bishops of each Diocese, so that none might give them but the King and the Archbishop.* By this means, 'tis an easy matter to authorize the preaching up of any heresy. But the effects of this restraint are not what we are now upon. What ought to be consider'd is, that the whole authority of the *Word* was deliver'd up to the *Prince* alone. Things were carried so far, that after declaring

to

to the people, that the *King* had employ'd learn'd men to take away all subjects of controversies, till the order now preparing should be set forth, he *p. 81.* did inhibit all manner of persons to preach in any publick audience. Here then was preaching suspended throughout the whole Kingdom, the Bishops silenced by the *King's* proclamation, and all waiting in suspence, ignorant, what *Religion* the *King* would think fit to coin for 'em. To this was tack'd an admonition exhorting all persons, to receive with submission the orders that should, in a short time, be sent down to them. Thus was the *English Reformation* brought about, that work of light, a distinct narrative whereof makes, according to Mr. Burnet, its history as well as Apology.

These preparations thus made, the *English Reformation* was set on foot, in the *King's* name, by the *Duke of Somerset* and *Cranmer*: and here the regal power pull'd down that Faith, which the regal power had before set up. The six articles, which *Henry VIII.* had caused to be publish'd with his whole spiritual and temporal authority, were repeal'd; and, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken in his Will to preserve those precious remains of the *Catholick Religion*, and not unlikely, in time, to restore it wholly; the *Zuinglian* doctrine, so much detested by this Prince, gain'd the ascendant.

Peter Martyr a *Florentine*, and *Bernardin Ochin*, afterwards the declared enemy of *Jesus Christ's* divinity, were call'd over to begin this *Reformation*. Both of them, like the rest of the *Reformers*, had exchanged the monastick state for that of wedlock. *Peter Martyr* was a downright *Zuinglian*. The doctrine which he proposed in *England* concerning the *Eucharist* in 1549, was reduced to these three positions.

LXXX.
The six-articles
abolish'd.

2. Part. I.
1. p. 40.

LXXXI.
Peter Martyr
call'd over,
and *Zuinglianism*
establish'd.
M D XLIX.
M D L.
M D LI.

Hosp. 2.
part. An.

1547.
207. 208.
& seq.

Burn. 2.
p. l. 1. p.
106.

LXXXII.
Bucer not
harken'd
to.

M D LI.
Burn. p.
170. Col.
n. 55.

LXXXIII
Mr. Burnet's
confession con-
cerning the
belief of
the Greek
Church.
p. 104.

I. *There is no Transubstantiation.*

II. *The Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are not corporally in the Eucharist, nor under the species of Bread and Wine.*

III. *The Body and Blood of Christ are united to the Bread and Wine Sacramentally, that is, figuratively, or at most, virtually.*

Bucer did not approve the second proposition; for, as hath been seen, he was for excluding a *Local Presence*, but not a *Corporeal* and *Substantial* one. He maintain'd that *Jesus Christ* could not be separated from the Supper, and that he was after such a manner in heaven, as not to be *substantially* removed out of the *Eucharist*. *Peter Martyr* believed it was an illusion to admit a *corporeal* and *substantial* Presence in the Supper, and not admit in it the *Reality*, which *Catholicks* maintain'd together with the *Lutherans*; and what respect soever he might have for *Bucer*, the only *Protestant* he had any consideration for, yet he did not come into his sentiments. A set of articles was drawn up in *England*, conformable to *Peter Martyr's* opinion: it was there specified, *That the Body of Jesus Christ was no where but in heaven; that he could not be really present in different places; so that, no Corporeal or Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist was to be believed.* This is what was defined. But as yet, their Faith was not in its utmost perfection, and, in due time, we shall see this article pretty much reform'd.

We are here obliged to *Mr. Burnet* for owning a thing of no small weight: for he grants us that the *Real Presence* is acknowledged by the *Greek Church*. These are his words: *The Lutherans seemed to agree with that which had been the doctrine of the Greek Church, that, in the Sacrament, there was both the substance of Bread and Wine,*

Wine, and Christ's Body likewise. Herein he is more sincere than the greatest part of those of his Religion: but, at the same time, opposes a greater authority against the novelties of *Peter Martyr*.

Then did the spirit of change intirely possess *England*. In the Reformation of the *Liturgy* and common prayers, which was made by *Parliament*-authority (for God gave ear to none but such) it had been set forth in the preamble to the act, that the Commissioners named by the *King* to draw an order of divine worship, *had finish'd the work with one uniform agreement, and by the aid of the Holy Ghost*. Men were astonish'd at this expression. But the *Reformers* had their answer ready, viz. *That this was not so to be understood, as if they had been inspired by extraordinary assistance; for then there had been no room for any correction of what was now done.* Now these *Reformers* were still for correcting and changing on; and never did pretend to frame their Religion all at once. And indeed, very considerable alterations were soon made in this *Liturgy*, and their chief aim was to deface all the tracts of antiquity that hitherto had been preserved.

In the consecration of the *Eucharist* this prayer had been retain'd, *With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, &c.* They were willing to preserve, in this prayer, somewhat of the *Church of Rome's Liturgy*, which *St. Augustin* the Monk, sent to the *English* by *St. Gregory*, had brought in with Christianity. But altho' they had maim'd it by lopping off some words, yet still it was found *too much to favour Transubstantiation*, or even *The corporeal Presence*, and was afterwards razed out intirely.

LXXXIV

The Reformers repent themselves of having said that in the Reformation of the *Liturgy*, they had acted by the assistance of the Holy Ghost.

p. 93.

p. 94.

LXXXV.

All the remains of antiquity at first retain'd in the *Liturgy* are now destroy'd.

L. 1. p.

76.

p. 170.

The

LXXXVI

England
abrogates
the Mass,
which she
had heard
from her
first con-
version to
Christiani-
ty.

Lit. of
S. Basil.
&c.

If. ix. 6.

The words of that prayer were yet much stronger, as the *Church of England* used it at the time she embraced Christianity: for, whereas they had put in the *reform'd Liturgy*, that *these gifts may be unto us the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*; in the original it stands thus, that *This oblation be made unto us the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*. This word *made* imports a true action, of the *Holy Ghost*, who changes the gifts, conformably to what is said in the other *Liturgies* of antiquity: *Make, O Lord, of this Bread, thy own Body, and of this Wine, the own Blood of thy Son, changing them by thy Holy Spirit*. And these words, *be made unto us the Body and Blood*, were said in the same spirit with those of *Isaiab*, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given*: not implying, that the sacred gifts are then only made the *Body and Blood* when we receive them, as the *Reformers* will have it; but signifying, that 'tis *for us* they are made so in the *Eucharist*, as *for us* they were form'd in the *Virgin's womb*. The *English Reformation* has corrected every thing that too much favour'd *Transubstantiation*. The word *Oblation* would likewise have too much favour'd a *Sacrifice*: to give the sense of it in some manner, they substituted *Gifts*. At length it was wholly taken away, and the *Church of England* would no longer hear that sacred prayer she heard, when, coming forth from the *Baptismal Font*, she first received the *Bread of Life*.

LXXXVII

The *Gal-
lican Mass*
and the
rest, in the
main, are
the same
with that
of *Rome*.

If it be insisted on, that the holy Priest *Augustin* brought them the *Gallican Liturgy* or *Mass*, rather than the *Roman*, the free choice of either having been left to him by *St. Gregory*, that alters not the case: the *Gallican Mass* said by the *Hilaries* and the *Martins*, in the main, differ'd not from the *Roman*, nor the rest. The *Kyrie Eleison*, the *Pater*, the *Pax*, or the blessing, may be,

be given in one place of the Mass rather than another, and such things, as little essential, made the whole difference; and for this reason was it that St. Gregory left the choice thereof to the holy Priest he sent into *England*. As well in *France*, as at *Rome*, and in all the rest of the Church, a prayer was made to beg the Transformation and change of *Bread* and *Wine* into the *Body* and *Blood*; the merit and mediation of Saints with God was every where employ'd, but a merit grounded on the divine mercy; and a mediation supported by that of *Jesus Christ*. In all of these *Liturgies* the Dead were frequently pray'd for, and, with respect to all these things, there was but one language in the *East* and *West*, in the *South* and *North*.

The *English Reformation* had retain'd, in Edward's time, something of prayer for the Dead; for, at funerals, they recommended the soul departed to God's mercy, and, as we now do, they prayed that his sins might be pardon'd. But all these remains of the primitive spirit are abolish'd: this prayer savour'd too much of *Purgatory*. 'Tis certain, it was said from the first ages both in the *East* and *West*: no matter, 'twas the *Pope's* Mass and that of the Church of *Rome*: it must be banish'd *England*, and every word of it turn'd to the most odious sense.

The Church of *England*, I may venture to say it, altered every thing she derived from antiquity. Confirmation must be nothing but a Catechism to renew the baptismal vows. But, said Catholics, the Fathers, from whom we receive it by a tradition founded on the Acts of the Apostles and as ancient as the Church, say not so much as a word of this notion of Catechism. This is true, and they are forced to own it. Confirmation, nevertheless, is turn'd to this form, otherwise it

Burn. 2.
part. l. 1.
p. 72.
Greg. lib.
VII. ind.
2. Ep. 64.

LXXXVIII
The Re-
formation
corrects it
self with
respect to
prayers
for the
Dead.
Burn. p.
77.

LXXXIX
Sequel of
alterations.
p. 77.

p. 170. would be too Papistical. The holy *Chrism* is taken away, which the most ancient *Fathers* had call'd the instrument of the *Holy Ghost*; the use of oyl, even in *Extreme-Union*, will at last be laid aside, whatever *St. James* may say; and tho' *St. Innocent Pope* spoke of this *Union* in the fourth age, it will be decided, that *Extreme-Union* was not hear'd of till the tenth Century.

XC.
Ceremo-
nies and
the sign of
the Cross
retain'd.

p. 75.

79.

170.

Among these alterations three things remain'd; *Holy Ceremonies*, the *Festivals* of *Saints*, *Abstinence* and *Lent*. They thought it but meet that *Priests*, in the publick service, should put on a mysterious dress, symbols of purity and the other dispositions, which the divine worship does require. *Ceremonies* were look'd upon as a mystical language, and *Calvin* appear'd too extravagant in rejecting them. The use of the *Cross* was retain'd, *As a publick declaration that they were not asham'd of the Cross of Christ*. At first, it was order'd to be kept up in the *Sacrament of Baptism*, and in the *Office of Confirmation*, and in the *Consecration of the Sacramental elements*, as an outward expression of the veneration they had for this holy ceremony. Nevertheless, it was at last suppress'd in *Confirmation* and the *Consecration*, in which *St. Augustin* with all antiquity witnesses that it was ever practis'd; nor can I devise, why it was retain'd only in *Baptism*.

XCI.
England
justifies us
in the ob-
servance of
Festivals,
even those
of *Saints*.

p. 191.

Ibid.

Mr. *Burnet* justifies us with relation to *Fasts* and *Holy-days*; which days he will not have accounted holy of their own nature, nor from any magical virtue in that time. This we consent to, and certainly, such a natural or magical virtue, which he thinks himself obliged to reject, never enter'd into any man's head. He says, *That none of these days were properly dedicated to any Saint; but only to God in remembrance of such Saints*. This is our very doctrine. In a word, he every where,

where, and in every thing, vindicates us on this subject, since he agrees *to a conscientious observ- Ibid.*
ing of such times. Wherefore, those who object
 to us, that we follow *the commandments of men, Matth.*
 need but object this to the *Church of England, xv. 9.*
 and she will vindicate us.

They do no less evidently justify us from the XCII.
 reproach of teaching the doctrine of Devils, when The same
 we abstain from certain meats for Penance sake. in absti-
 Mr. Burnet answers for us, when he blames carn- nence from
 al men, who will not conceive, *That the fre- p. 96.*
 quent use of fasting, with Prayer and true Devotion
 join'd to it, is perhaps one of the greatest helps
 that can be devised, to advance one to a spiritual
 temper of mind, and to promote a holy course of life.
 Since it is from this spirit, not a kind of temporal
 policy, as many do imagine, that the *Church of*
England hath forbid flesh on *Fridays* and *Satur-*
days, on *Vigils*, the four *Ember-weeks*, and
 throughout *Lent*; we have nothing on this sub-
 ject to upbraid one another with. There is only
 reason to wonder, that the King and *Parliament*
 should command these *Holy-days* and *Abstinences*; 95.
 that the King should declare what *were Fish-days*,
 and grant *licences* and *dispensations* from these ob- Ibid.
 servances; and lastly that, in matters of *Religion*, 191.
 they should prefer the King's commandments to
 those of the *Church*.

But something still more surprising, in the XCIII.
English Reformation, was a maxim of *Cranmer's*. *Cranmer*
 Whereas, in reality, the worship depends on in his Re-
 Faith, and should by that be regulated; *Cranmer* formation
 confounded this order; and, before he had ex- inverts all
 amin'd the doctrine, suppress'd, in the worship, order.
 what most displeased him. According to Mr. Bur- 163.
 net, the belief of *Christ's Presence* in every crumb 2. Part.
 of *Bread* gave occasion to laying aside the Cup. And 42.
 indeed, argues he, in this hypothesis, *Communion*

1. Part.
290.

p. 65.

in both kinds was not necessary. So that, the question about the necessity of both kinds depended on that of the *Real Presence*. Now in 1548, *England* still believed the *Real Presence*, and the *Parliament* declared, that *The whole Body of Christ was contain'd in every piece of consecrated Bread, whether it were small or great.* The necessity, nevertheless, of communicating under *both kinds* had been already established, that is, they had drawn the consequence before they were well assur'd of the principle.

XCIV.

Sequel

104, 105.
76.

The year following, *Christ's Presence in the Sacrament was greatly call'd in question*, and the thing left undecided. Yet the Adoration of *Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament had already been suppress'd provisionally: as if one, seeing the people stand in great awe as in the King's Presence, should say: Good people, let us, in the first place, lay aside these exterior tokens of respect; there will afterwards be time to examine whether the King be present or no, and this honour be agreeable to him. The Oblation of the Body and Blood was, in like manner, taken away, altho' this *Oblation*, after all, be nothing else but the consecration made before God of this *Body and Blood* as *really* present before the manducation; and without examining the principle, already was destroy'd, what inevitably ensued from it.

S. I. vi.
n: 21. &
seq.

The cause of so irregular a proceeding, was the leading the people by motives of hatred, and not of reason. 'Twas an easy matter to excite hatred against certain practices, whereof they conceal'd from the people the beginning and right use, especially when some abuses were interwoven with them: thus, it was easy to render Priests odious who abused the Mass for sordid gain: and hatred once inflamed against them, was by a thousand artifices insensibly turn'd against the mystery they

they celebrated, and even, as hath appear'd, against the *Real Presence*, the foundation of it.

The same was done with respect to *Images*, and a *French* letter, which Mr. *Burnet* gives us of *Edward VI.* to his uncle the Protector, makes it palpable. To exercise this young *Prince's* style, his masters set him about collecting all the passages wherein God speaks against *Idols*. In reading the *Holy Scripture* I was desirous, said he, to note several places which forbid both TO ADORE AND TO MAKE any *Images*, not only of strange Gods, but also to form any thing; thinking TO MAKE IT LIKE TO THE MAJESTY OF GOD the Creator. In this credulous age he had simply believed what was told him, that *Catholicks* made *Images*, thinking they made them like to the Majesty of God. I am quite astonish'd, proceeds he (*God himself and his Holy Spirit having so often forbidden it*) that so many people have dared to commit *Idolatry* BY MAKING AND ADORING IMAGES. He fixes the same hatred, as we see, on the making, as on the adoring them; and, according to the notions that were given him, is in the right, since undoubtedly, 'tis not lawful to make *Images* with the thought of making something LIKE TO THE MAJESTY OF THE CREATOR. For, as this *Prince* adds, *God cannot be seen in things that are material, but will be seen in his own works*. Thus was a young child deluded by them.----His hatred was stirr'd up against *Pagan Images*, in which Man pretends to represent the *Deity*: it was shewn him, that God forbids to make such *Images*; but they not having as yet taken it into their heads to say, that it's unlawful to make such as ours, or, unlawful to represent *Jesus Christ* and his *Saints*, they took care to conceal from him, that those of *Catholicks* were not of this nature. A youth of ten or twelve

XCV.

How the publick hatred was raised against the Catholick doctrine. Example in the instruction of young *Edward*, and concerning *Images*. King *Edward's*. Rem. 2. p. l. II. p. 68.

years old could not discover it of himself: to make Images odious to him in general and confusedly, was enough for their purpose. Those of the *Church*, tho' of a different order and design, passed in the lump: dazzled with the plausible reasoning and authority of his masters, every thing was an *Idol* to him; and the hatred he had conceived against *Idolatry* was easily turn'd against the *Church*.

XCVI.
Whether
any ad-
vantage
can be
drawn
from the
sudden
progress of
the Reformation.

L. III. p.
318.

Ibid. p.
31.

The people were not more cunning, and but too easy was it to animate them by the like artifices. After this, can the sudden progress of the *Reformation* be taken for a visible miracle, the work of God's own hand? With what assurance could Mr. *Burnet* say it; He! who has so thoroughly discover'd to us the deep causes of this lamentable success? A *Prince* blinded with inordinate passion, and condemn'd by the *Pope*, sets men at work to exaggerate particular facts, some odious proceedings and abuses which the *Church* herself condemn'd. All pulpits ring with Satires against ignorant and scandalous Priests, they are brought on the stage, and made the subject of farce and comedy, insomuch that Mr. *Burnet* himself expresses his indignation at it. Under the authority of an *Infant-King*, and a *Protector* violently addicted to *Zuinglian*ism, invective and satire are still carried to a higher pitch: *The Laity*, that had long look'd on their *Pastors* with an evil eye, greedily swallow'd down the poisonous novelty. The difficulties in the mystery of the *Eucharist* are remov'd, and the senses, instead of being kept under subjection, are flatter'd. *Priests* are set free from the obligation of *continency*; *Monks* from all their *Vows*; the whole world, from the yoke of *Confession*, wholsom indeed for the correction of vice, but burdensom to nature. A doctrine of greater liberty was preach'd up, and which, as Mr. *Burnet* says,

says, *shew'd a plain and simple way to the kingdom of heaven.* Laws so convenient met with but too ready a compliance. Of sixteen thousand Ecclesiasticks, who made up the body of the *English Clergy*, we are assur'd by Mr. *Burnet*, that three parts renounced their *Celibacy* in *Edward's* time, that is, in the space of five or six years; and good *Protestants* were made of these bad *Ecclesiasticks*, who thus renounced their vows. Thus was the *Clergy* gain'd. As for the *Laity*, the *Church* revenues exposed to rapine became their prey. The vestry-plate enrich'd the *Prince's* exchequer: the shrine alone of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, with the inestimable presents, that had been sent to it from all parts, produced a royal treasure of immense sums of money. This was enough to degrade that holy *Martyr*. He was attainted, that he might be pillaged, nor were the riches of his tomb, the least of his crimes. In short, it was judg'd more expedient to plunder the *Churches*, than, conformably to the intention of the founders, to apply their patrimony to its right use. Where's the wonder, if the *Nobility*, the *Clergy*, and the people were so easily gain'd upon? is it not rather a visible miracle that there remain'd a spark in *Israel*, and that all other kingdoms did not follow the example of *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Germany*, which were reform'd by the same means?

Amidst all these *Reformations*, the only one that visibly made no progress, was that of *Manners*. The success of *Luther's Reformation* in *Germany*, as to this point, I have already observed upon, and we need but read Mr. *Burnet's* history, to be convinced that things went no better in *England*. We have seen *Henry VIII.* her first Reformer; the ambitious *Duke of Somerset* was the second. He equall'd himself to crown'd heads,

Ibid.

P. 11. l.

11. p.

276.

1. Part. l.

111. p.

244.

XCVII.

Whether the Duke of Somerset had the shew of a Reformer.

Part. II.

l. 1. p.

34.

Ibid.

p. 100.

XCVIII.

Vain forwardness
of Mr.Burnet to
excuseCranmer
in little

tho' but a subject; and assum'd the title of *Duke of Somerset by the grace of God*. In the midst of the calamities which afflicted the whole nation, when London was much disordered by the Plague, his thoughts were only bent on designing such a Palace as had not been seen in England; and to aggravate his guilt by *Sacrilege*, he built it upon the ruins, and with the materials, of three *Episcopal palaces*, and a *Parish Church*: and the revenues extorted from several Bishops and Chapters, who had resign'd many Manors to him, for obtaining his favour, none daring to oppose his will. He did this, 'tis true, with leave obtain'd from the King: but his abusing thus the authority of a *Minor*, and the inuring his *Pupil* to such sacrilegious donations, enflamed the guilt. I pass over the rest of his misdeeds, for which the *Parliament* condemn'd him, first to resign the authority he had usurp'd over the Council, and afterwards to lose his head. But not to examine the reasons he had to condemn the *Admiral* his brother to the block; how shameful a thing, to have subjected a man of that dignity, and his own *Brother*, to that iniquitous law, of attainting a man on the bare allegation of witnesses, without bringing him to make his own defence! By virtue of this law the *Admiral*, besides many others, was judged without a hearing. The *Protector* prevail'd upon the King to order the Commons to proceed in it without hearing the party accused, and in this manner it was that he tutor'd up his *Pupil* to do justice.

Mr. Burnet takes a great deal of pains to justify his *Cranmer* for signing, Bishop as he was, the death of this unhappy person, and meddling in a cause of blood, contrary to the *Canons*. In order to this, he lays down, according to his custom, one of those specious plans, whereby he always

always strives, indirectly, to make odious the *Church's Faith*, and elude the *Canons*: but keeps at a distance from the main point. If *Cranmer* was to be excused, it ought not to have been merely for violating the *Canons*, which, as an Archbishop he was obliged, above all others, to have a great regard for; but for breaking thro' the Law of nature sacred even among *Heathens*, of Not delivering any man to die, before that he which is accused, have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself. *Cranmer*, notwithstanding this law, condemn'd the Admiral and sign'd the warrant for his execution. Should not so great a Reformer have stood up against so barbarous a procedure? no truly: it was more worth his while to demolish *Altars*, beat down *Images*, not sparing even those of *Jesus Christ*, and abolish the Mass, which had been said and heard by so many Saints ever since the first establishment of *Christianity* among the *English*.

things,
without
speaking
a word in
great ones.

p. 100.

Acts xxv.
16.

To conclude the life of *Cranmer*; at the death of *Edward VI.* he set his hand to the entail of the Crown, in which this young Prince, out of hatred to the Princess his Sister, who was a *Catholick*, changed the order of succession. Mr. *Burnet* would have us believe, that the Archbishop sign'd it with great reluctance, and is satisfied, if this great Reformer shews but some scruple in committing crimes. Yet the Council, which *Cranmer* was at the head of, gave all necessary orders to arm the people against *Queen Mary*, and maintain the usurper *Jane Grey*; preachers were set to work in the cause, and *Ridley* Bishop of *London* had orders to set out *Queen Jane's title* in a Sermon at *Paul's*. When her affairs, prov'd desperate, *Cranmer* with the rest of them own'd his crime, and had recourse to the *Queen's* clemency.

XCIX.

Cranmer
and the
rest of the
Reformers
spirit up
rebellion
against
Queen
Mary.

M D LIII.

2. Part.

p. 223.

L. 11. p.
238.

mency. This *Princess* re-settled *Catholick* Religion, and *England* reunited herself to the *Holy See*. As *Cranmer* had always suited his *Religion* to that of the *King*, it was easily believ'd, he would also follow that of the *Queen*, and make no more difficulty to say *Mass*, than he had done, under *Henry*, thirteen years together without believing in it. But his engagement was too strong, and had he thus turn'd with every wind, he had too openly declar'd himself void of all *Religion*. He was sent to the *Tower* both for the crime of *Treason* and that of *Heresy*, and deposed by the *Queen's* authority. This authority was lawful with respect to him, who had own'd and even establish'd it. 'Twas by this authority he himself had deposed *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and was therefore punish'd by laws of his own making. For the like reason the Bishops, who by *Patents* had received their *Bishopricks* for a certain time, were deprived; and till the *Ecclesiastical* order should be intirely re-establish'd, the *Protestants* were proceeded against according to their own maxims.

C. *Cranmer*, after his deposition, was left some time in prison. Afterwards, declared a *Heretick*, he himself own'd, that it was because he had denied the *Presence of Jesus Christ on the Altar*. By that is seen, wherein the principal part of the *Reformation* under *Edward VI.* was made to consist, and I am willing to take notice of it here, because all that will take a new turn under *Elizabeth*.

CI. When *Cranmer's* punishment was to be determin'd according to form, Commissioners from the *Pope*, and those of *Philip* and *Mary* (for the *Queen* had then married *Philip II. King of Spain*) sat in judgment against him. The accusation turn'd on his marriages and heresies. Mr. *Burnet* assures

Cranmer
declared
Heretick,
and for
what arti-
cle.

M D LV.
p. 283.

Cranmer's
false an-
swer be-
fore his
Judges.
M D LVI.

assures us, that the *Queen* forgave him the treason, for which he had been already condemn'd by Parliament. He confess'd the facts, which were imputed to him concerning his doctrine and mariages; *Only said, he had never forced any to subscribe.*

2. Part. 1.

11. p.

257.

Ib. 332.

From these words, so full of meekness, one might be induced to think, *Cranmer* had never condemn'd any person on account of doctrine. Not to mention here the imprisonment of *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, that of *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and other things of the like nature; the Archbishop had sign'd and consented, in *Henry's* time, to *Lambert's* and *Anne Askew's* death, for denying the *Real Presence*; and under *Edward*, to that of *Joan of Kent*, and of *George Van Pare*, both burnt for heresy. What is still more, *Edward*, thinking it a piece of cruelty, refused to sign the warrant for burning her, and could not be persuaded to it but by *Cranmer's* authority. If then he was condemn'd for heresy, he himself had often enough set the example.

CII

Cranmer condemn'd by his own principles.

2. l. 1. p.

37.

2. Part. 1.

1. p. 112.

Ib. p. 111.

With the design of putting off the time of his execution, he declared, *He was willing to go to Rome and defend his doctrine before the Pope, yet denied any authority the Pope had over him: from the Pope, in whose name he was condemn'd, he appeal'd to a general Council.* But seeing nothing avail'd, *He renounc'd all the errors of Luther and Zuinglius*, and, together with the *Real Presence*, distinctly own'd all the other points of the *Catholick Faith*. The abjuration, which he sign'd, was conceiv'd in such terms, as express'd the truest sorrow for his former errors. The *Protestants* were extremely shock'd at it. However their *Reformer* made a second abjuration; that is when he saw, notwithstanding his precedent abjuration, the *Queen* was determin'd not to pardon him,

CIII.

Cranmer twice abjures the Reformation a little before his execution.

p. 332.

333.

him, he return'd to his first errors; but he soon recanted them, *all this time*, says Mr. Burnet, *being under some small hopes of life*. So that, continues this author, having been *dealt with to renew his subscription, and then to write the whole over again*, he also did it. But here was the secret he found out to secure his conscience. Mr. Burnet goes on: *But conceiving likewise some jealousies that they might burn him, he writ secretly a paper, containing a sincere Confession of his Faith; and being brought out, he carried that along with him*. This Confession thus *secretly* wrote makes us see clearly enough, that he was determin'd, not to appear a *Protestant* as long as any hopes remain'd. At last, finding himself utterly disappointed, he resolv'd to declare what his heart had conceal'd, and so give himself the appearance of a *Martyr*.

CIV:
Mr. Burnet compares Cranmer's fault to that of St. Peter.

Mr. Burnet uses all his adrefs to hide the shame of so miserable a death; and after alledging, in behalf of his Heroe, the faults of St. *Athanasius* and St. *Cyrill*, which we find no mention of in *Ecclesiastical history*, he now produces St. *Peter's* denial, so memorable in the *Gospel*. But what comparison is there betwixt a momentary weakness of this great *Apostle*, and the wretchedness of a man, who betray'd his conscience during almost the whole course of his life, and for thirteen years together, to begin from the very time he was made a Bishop? who never dared to open his mind, but when he had a *King* to back him? And lastly, on the very brink of death, confess'd all that was required of him, as long as he had but a glimpse of hope; so that his counterfeit abjuration was manifestly nothing else, but a consequence of the base dissimulation of his whole life.

CV.
Whether it be true,

Nevertheless, our author will still boast to us the steady firmness (good God!) of this perpetual

tual flatterer of *Kings*, who sacrificed every thing to the will of his masters, annulling as many marriages, setting his hand to as many condemnations and consenting to as many laws as they pleased, even to those which were, either in fact or in his opinion, the most unjust; who finally was not ashamed to bring the heavenly authority of Bishops under subjection to that of the *Kings* of the earth, and enslave the *Church*, in *Discipline*, in *preaching* the word, in the *administration* of *Sacraments*, and in *Faith*. Nevertheless, but *one only blemish of his life* does Mr. Burnet find, that of his *Abjuration*; and, as for the rest, allows only, that he was somewhat too much subjected to the will of *Henry VIII*. Yet, to justify him completely in all his compliances, he affirms, *he thought none of them a sin*, consequently was no further obsequious to *Henry* than his *Conscience* allow'd him. His conscience then allow'd him to annul two marriages on pretexts notoriously false, nor grounded on any other bottom than *Henry's* new amours. His conscience allow'd him, though a *Lutheran*, to set his hand to articles of *Faith*, which utterly condemn'd *Lutheranism*, and to approve the Mass, the unjust object of the new *Reformation's* horror. His conscience then allow'd him to say Mass, as long as *Henry* lived, without believing in it; to offer to God, even for the Dead, a *Sacrifice* which he held for an abomination; to ordain Priests, giving them also the power of offering; and according to the form of the *Pontifical* which he durst not alter, to exact *Chastity* of those whom he made *Sub-deacons*, altho' he did not think himself obliged to it being a married man; to swear obedience to the *Pope* whom he look'd upon as *Antichrist*; to accept his *Bulls*, and receive *Archiepiscopal institution* by his authority; to pray to *Saints*, and incense their Images,

that *Cranmer* complied no more with *Henry VIII*. than his conscience permitted.

Mr. Burnet p. 336;

Ibid.

Pref. Tom.

i.

Images, notwithstanding that, in the *Lutheran* principles, all this was nothing less than *Idolatry*; in a word, to profess and practise all that he believed ought to be banish'd from the house of God as an execration and a scandal.

CVI.
Mr. Burnet but
ill excuses
his Reformers.
T. 1. Pref.

But the thing was, *the Reformers* ('tis what Mr. Burnet tells us) *did not know, as yet, that it was absolutely a sin to retain all these abuses till a proper occasion offer'd for abolishing them.* Doubtless, they did not know, it was a sin to change, according to their notion, the *Lord's Supper* into *Sacrilege*, and to defile themselves with *Idolatry*. To make them abstain from such things, God's commandment was not sufficient: they were to wait till the *King* and *Parliament* should think it fitting.

CVII.
Illusion in
Mr. Burnet's ex-
amples.
Ibid.
4. Reg. v.
18. 19.
Ib.

Naaman is instanced in, who obliged, by his office, to give the *King* his hand, would not remain standing whilst his master knelt down in the Temple of *Remmon*; and acts of *Religion* are compared with the duty and decorum of a *Secular* employment. The Apostles are alledged, who, *After the law was dead, continued to worship at the Temple, to circumcise and to offer Sacrifices*; and the ceremonies, which God had instituted, and which all the *Fathers* allow ought to be buried honourably, are compared with actions believed to be manifestly impious. It's alledg'd also, that the same *Apostles were all things to all men*, and that the *primitive* Christians had adopted many ceremonies of *Heathenism*. But altho' the *primitive* Christians had brought in ceremonies, that were indifferent, does it follow from thence, that men ought to practise such as they believe are full of *Sacrilege*? How blind, how contradictory to itself is the *Reformation*? In order to raise a horror of the *Church's* practices, they must be call'd *Idolatrous*. Obligated to excuse the same things in
her

Ib.

her first authors, she holds them for *indifferent*, and makes it more conspicuous than the sun, that she banters the whole universe by calling that *Idolatry* which is not so, or that those she admires for her Heroes were, of all men, the most corrupt. But God hath reveal'd their hypocrisy by their own Historian, and Mr. *Burnet* is the man that hath expos'd their shame in full view.

However, if to convict the pretended Reformation by their own witnesses, I have only, as it were, abridged Mr. *Burnet's* history, and received as true the facts I have related: 'tis not my meaning to grant the rest, and allow all he relates as fact for the sake of those truths, he was not able to deny, though prejudicial to his own *Religion*. I shall not, for example, allow him, what he asserts without witnesses or proof, that there was a resolution taken between *Francis I.* and *Henry VIII.* to withdraw themselves by agreement from the *Pope's* obedience, and *Change the Mass into a bare Communion*; that is, to suppress the *Oblation* and *Sacrifice*. This fact, averr'd by Mr. *Burnet*, *France* is quite a stranger to --- We are as much at a loss to know, what this Historian means by affirming, that the reason, which made *Francis I.* alter his resolution of abolishing the *Pope's* power, was because *Clement VII.* had granted him so great power over his own Clergy, that he could scarce have expected more, if he had set up a Patriarch in *France*; for here is nothing but meer empty words, a thing unknown to our Historians. Mr. *Burnet* is no better vers'd in the history of the *Protestant Religion*, when he so boldly advances, as a thing avowed among the *Reformers*, that good-works were indispensably and absolutely necessary to salvation, for he hath seen, and will see this proposition, good-works are necessary to salvation, expressly condemn'd by the

Lutherans

CVIII.

Mr. *Burnet* not always to be credited in his facts.

I. Part. I.

II. p. 133.

Ibid. I.

III. p.

140.

Ibid 133.

I. Part. I.

III. p.

286, 287.

Sup. I. v.

n. 12.

Inf. I.

VIII. n.

30. & seq.

Part. 11.
l. 1. p.
20.

Lutherans in their most solemn assemblies. It would be departing too much from my design, were I to descend to other facts of the like nature; but I cannot but make it known to the world, how little credit this Historian merits with relation to the *Council of Trent*, which he ran over in so negligent a manner, that he did not so much as take notice of the very title, which this *Council* placed at the beginning of all its decisions. For he upbraids it with *having usurped the most glorious title of the most holy Oecumenical Council representing the Catholick Church*, altho' this quality be not found in any one of its decrees: a thing of little importance in itself, since it is not this expression that makes a *Council*; yet it never could have escaped a man that had but just open'd the book with the least attention.

CIX.
Mr. Burnet's fallacy with regard to *Fra-Paolo*.

1. Part.
Pref.

The life of
Bedell B.
of Kil-
more.
p. 8.

It behoves one therefore to be very cautious how he credits our Historian in what he pronounces touching this *Council* on the testimony of *Fra-Paolo*, its declared enemy rather than Historian. Mr. Burnet makes as if he believed, that this author ought, with respect to *Catholicks*, to be above all exception, because he is one of *their own party*; and this is the common artifice of all *Protestants*. But they are very well convinced in their consciences, that this *Fra-Paolo*, who counterfeited our Religion, was in reality nothing but a *Protestant* in a *Monk's* disguise. None knows him better than Mr. Burnet, who boasts him to us. He! who in his history of the *Reformation* sets him forth for an author of *our party*, in another book, lately translated into our language, takes off the mask and shews him a *Protestant*, that had conceal'd himself; that look'd upon *the English common-prayer-book as his pattern*; that occasionally from the falling out betwixt *Paul V.* and the republick of *Venice*, labour'd for nothing more than

than to bring this Republick to an entire separation, not only from the Court, but also from the Church of Rome; who believed himself to be in a defiled and idolatrous Church, wherein he continued nevertheless; heard Confessions, said Mass, and quieted the remorse of his conscience by passing over many parts of the Canon, and not joining in those parts of the Offices, that went against his conscience. This is what Mr. Burnet writes in the life of William Bedell the Protestant Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland: who was present at Venice at the time of the difference, and to whom Fra-Paolo had disclosed his sentiments. There is no need of mentioning this author's letters, which speak him intirely Protestant, and were in every library, and which Geneva at length hath made publick. I speak to Mr. Burnet only of what he wrote himself, at the time he counted amongst our authors *Fra-Paolo*, a Protestant under a Monk's disguise, who said Mass not believing in it, and who remain'd in a Church whose Worship appear'd to him *Idolatry*.

But what he deserves the least to be pardon'd in is, when, in imitation of *Fra-Paolo*, and with as little truth, he lays before us those ingenious plans of *Primitive-Church-doctrine*. This invention, I must own, is equally commodious and agreeable. An artful Historian, in the midst of his narration, conveys in sily all he pleases for antiquity, and erects for us a scheme of his own contrivance. Under pretext, that an Historian ought not to enter into proofs, or play the Doctor, he is content with alledging such facts as are favourable to his own Religion. Is he inclined to ridicule the veneration of *Images* or *Relicks*, or the *Pope's* authority, or prayer for the *Dead*, or even, to let nothing slip, the *Pallium*? he gives to these practices such a form and such a date as

CX.

The plans of Religion which Mr. Burnet makes after *Fra-Paolo's* example.

p. 340.

he thinks fit. He says, for example, of the *Palium*, that this was a device set up by Pope Paschal II. Altho' it be found five hundred years before, in the letters of Pope Vigilius and St. Gregory. The credulous Reader finding a history all over interspersed with these reflexions, and seeing every where, in a work whose character ought to be sincerity, an abridgment of the antiquities of several ages, never thinking that the Author gives him, either his prejudices or conjectures for certain truths, admires the erudition and agreeable turns of the work, believes he has reach'd to the very original of things, and drinks at the fountain head. But it is not just, that Mr. Burnet, under the insinuating title of an Historian, should thus peremptorily decide on Church-antiquity, nor that Fra-Paolo, whom he copies after, should acquire a right to make what he pleases pass for truth concerning our Religion, on account that, under a Monk's habit, he hid the Calvinist, and labour'd under-hand to discredit the Mass he said daily.

CXI.

Gerson
cited
strangely
from the
purpose.

1. Part. 1.

11. p. 175.

Let not Mr. Burnet therefore be any longer credited as to what he relates of the *Church's Dogmata*, since he turns all of them to a wrong sense. Whether he speaks of himself, or introduces in his history a third person that speaks of our doctrine, his inward design is ever to decry it. Can his *Cranmer* be borne with, when abusing a treatise which Gerson had made *De auferibilitate Papæ*, he concludes, as from this Doctor, *That the Papal power is a quite needless thing?* whereas, he means only, as the sequel of this work demonstrates so as to leave no room for doubt, that the Pope may be deposed in certain cases. When an Author relates such things seriously, his design is to trifle with mankind, and he destroys his own credit with all thinking persons.

But

But the *Celibacy of Ecclesiasticks* is the subject our Historian has most labour'd, and exerted his whole art and cunning in. I shall not discuss what he says, either in his own, or *Cranmer's* name. One may judge of his remarks on antiquity, by those he makes on the *Roman Pontifical*, which will easily be granted me, has nothing in it obscure with respect to *Celibacy*. It was consider'd, says he, *that the promise made by Clergy-men, according to the rites of the Roman Pontifical, did not necessarily oblige them to Celibate. He that confers the orders asks of him, that recieves them, Wilt thou promise to live in Chastity and Sobriety? To which the Sub-deacon answer'd, I will.* Mr. Burnet concludes from these words, that no other *Chastity* was here understood, but that which one is obliged to in a state of marriage, as well as out of it. But the imposition is too gross to be borne with. The words he relates are not said in the ordination of a *Sub-deacon*, but in that of a *Bishop*. And in that of a *Sub-deacon*, he that presents himself to this Order is stopp'd to hear declared to him that, *till then, he was free*; but if he proceeds further, *he must keep Chastity*; will Mr. Burnet now say again, that the *Chastity* here in question, is that which is kept in a state of marriage, and which teaches us to abstain from all unlawful embraces? must we then wait for the *Sub-deaconship* to enter into this obligation? and who is it that does not acknowledge here that profession of continency, which is imposed, according to the ancient *Canons*, on the principal Clerks from the very time they are raised to the *Sub-deaconship*?

CXII.

A gross error relating to celibacy and the Roman Pontifical.

2. Part. 1.

1. p. 91,

92.

Pont.

Rom in

Consec.

Ep.

CXIII.

A vain

shift.

Ibid.

Mr. Burnet still replies, that, whatever might be required by the *Roman Pontifical*, the *English* Priests, who were married in the time of *Edward*, had been ordain'd without any such question or

answer made, and so were not precluded from marriage by any vow. But the contrary appears from himself, he having own'd that in the time of *Henry VIII.* nothing was alter'd in the *Rituals*, nor in the other books of *Offices*, except some extravagant prayers address'd to Saints, or some other thing of light importance; and it's easy to be seen, that this *Prince* was far enough from taking from Ordination the profession of *Continency*, who had even prohibited the violation of it, first under pain of death, and, when he was most mitigated, *under the forfeiture of goods and chattels.* And this indeed was the reason, why *Cranmer* never durst declare his marriage during the life of *Henry VIII.* but, to save himself, was forced to add to a forbidden marriage, the reproach of clandestinity.

i. Part. l.
111. p.
282.

CXIV.
Conclusion
of this
Book.

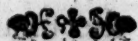
No wonder then, that under such an *Archbishop*, no regard was had to the doctrine of his holy predecessors, *St. Dunstan*, *St. Lanfrank*, *St. Anselm*, and such others, whose admirable virtues, and particularly that of continency, were an honour to the *Church*. Nor do I wonder, that in his time, *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury's* name, whose life was the condemnation of *Thomas Cranmer*, was dash'd out of their *Calendar* of Saints---- *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* resisted the attempts of unjust Kings; *Thomas Cranmer* abandon'd his conscience to them and indulged their passions. The one banish'd, his goods confiscated, persecuted in his own and the persons of his dearest friends, every way afflicted, purchased the glorious liberty of speaking what his conscience dictated for truth, with a generous contempt of all the conveniencies of life, and life itself: the other, to please his *Prince*, spent his life under a shameful dissimulation and an outward conformity in every thing to a *Religion*, which he inwardly condemn'd.

The

The one combated even to blood for the *Church's* minuteſt rights, and by maintaining her prerogatives, as well thoſe which *Jeſus Chriſt* had acquired by his death, as thoſe which pious *Princes* had endow'd her with, defended the very out-works of the *holy city*: the other ſurrender'd to the *King's* of the earth her moſt ſacred *Truſt*; the *Word, Worſhip, Sacraments, Keys, Cenſures, Authority*, even *Faith* itſelf. In a word, every thing was inthrall'd, and the whole Eccleſiaſtical authority being united to the *Royal* throne, the *Church* had no more power than the State pleaſed to allow of. Laſtly, the one intrepid and example-riſy pious thro' the whole ſeries of his life, was yet more ſo in the laſt period of it: the other al-ways daſtardly and trembling, at death's approach ſhrunk even below himſelf, and at the age of threeſcore and two, ſacrificed even to the dregs of deſpicable life, his *Faith* and *Conſcience*. Accordingly, he has left but an odious name amongſt men; nor can any thing but ſtreſs of wit and quirk, which plain facts give the lye to, excuſe him even to his own party: but the glory of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* will live as long as the *Church*; and his virtues, which *France* and *England* have venerated with a kind of emulation, will never be forgot. Nay, the more doubtful the cauſe of this *holy Martyr* appear'd to the *politick world*, the more did the divine power declare itſelf in his behalf, by the ſignal chaſtiſements of *Henry II.* this holy Prelate's perſecutor, by the exemplary Penance of this Prince which alone could appeaſe the wrath of Heaven, and by miracles of ſo great a luſtre, wrought at his tomb, that they drew to it the *King's* of *France* as well as *England*. Miracles, I ſay, ſo continual, and ſo well attested by the unanimous conſent of all the *Hiſtorians* of thoſe times, that to deny them,

Whitak.
cont. Du-
ra.
Fulk. cont
Stapl.
Jerwel.
Apol. Ecc.
Angl.

is to reject at once the truth of all history whatsoever. The *English Reformation*, nevertheless, hath struck the name of so great a man out of the *Calendar of Saints*. More flagrant still have been their attempts: nothing but the degradation of all that nation's Saints, since it first became Christian, can satisfy them. *Bede*, their venerable Historian, tells them nothing but fables; at most, but legendary stories, when he relates the miracles of their conversion, the holiness of their *Pastors*, of their *Kings*, and their *Religious*. *St. Augustin* the Monk who brought them to the Gospel, and *St. Gregory Pope* who sent him, escape not the hands of the *Reformation*: they are attack'd and defamed by her chief writers. To believe them, the mission of those Saints, who laid the foundation of the *English Church*, was but a politick fetch of the ambition of *Popes*; and *St. Gregory*, so humble, so holy a Pope, by converting the *English*, aim'd rather at subjecting them to the *Holy See*, than to Jesus Christ. 'Tis what is publish'd in *England*, and her *Reformation* establishes itself by trampling under foot and polluting the whole *Christianity* of the nation in its very source. But so learned a *Nation*, 'tis to be hoped, will not always remain under this seduction: the respect they retain for the *Fathers*, and their curious and continual researches into antiquity, will bring them back to the doctrine of the first ages. I cannot believe the *Chair of St. Peter*, whence they received *Christianity*, will always be the object of their hatred---- The time of vengeance and illusion shall pass away, and God will give ear to the prayers of his Saints.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK VIII.

From the Year 1546, to 1561.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The war begun betwixt Charles V. and the Confederates of Smalkald. Luther's Theses, which had excited the Lutherans to take up arms. A new subject of war on account of Herman Archbishop of Cologne. The prodigious ignorance of this Archbishop. The Protestants defeated by Charles V. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse made prisoners. The Interim, or the Emperor's book, which regulates matters of Religion provisionally for the Protestants alone, till the Council's meeting. The disturbance caused in Prussia by Osiander a Lutheran: his new doctrine concerning Justification. Disputes among the Lutherans after the Interim. Illyricus, Melancthon's disciple, strives to undo him on account of indifferent ceremonies. He renews the doctrine of Ubiquity. The Emperor presses the Lutherans to appear at the Council of Trent. The confession call'd Saxonick, and that of

the Dutchy of Wirtemberg drawn up on this occasion. The distinction between mortal and venial sins. The merit of good-works acknowledged anew. The Conference at Wormes for reconciling Religions. The Lutherans at variance among themselves, however unanimously agreeing that good-works are not necessary to salvation. Melancthon's death under a dreadful perplexity. The Zuinglians condemn'd by the Lutherans in a Synod held at Jena. Assembly of the Lutherans at Naumburg in order to agree about the true edition of the Confession of Augsburg. The uncertainty still as great as ever. Ubiquity set up as far almost as Lutheranism extended. New decision on the co-operation of Free-will. The Lutherans inconsistent with themselves, and, in order to answer Libertines as well as weak Christians, they fall into Demi-pelagianism. An account of the book of Concord compiled by the Lutherans, and containing all their decisions.

I.
Luther's
Theses in
order to
stir up the
people to
take up
arms.

S. I. I. n.
25.

M D XL.
Sleid. lib.
xvi. 261.
M D XLV.



FORMIDABLE was the Smalkaldick League, which Luther had trumpeted up to arms with so furious a blast, that the worst of extremities were to be dreaded. Elated with the power of so many confederated Princes, he had publish'd the *Theses* above mention'd. Nothing sure was ever seen more violent. He had maintain'd them from the year 1540, but we learn from *Sleidan*, that he published them anew in 1545, that is, a year before his death. There he compared the *Pope* to a mad Wolf, against whom the whole world takes up arms at the first signal, without waiting for commands from the Magistrate.

Magistrate. And, if after he has been shut up in an inclosure, the Magistrate sets him at liberty, you may continue, said he, to pursue this savage beast, and with impunity attack those, who prevented his destruction. If you fall in the engagement before the beast has received its mortal wound, you have but one thing only to repent of; that you did not bury your dagger in its breast. This is the way to deal with the Pope. All those, who defend him, must also be treated like a band of robbers under their Captain, be they Kings, be they Cæsars. Sleidan who relates a great part of these bloody *Theses*, *T. i. Wit.* durst not venture to repeat these last words, they *407.* appear'd so horrible to him: but they were in *Luther's Theses*, and still are to be seen in the edition of his works.

A fresh subject of feud happen'd at this time. *II.* *Herman* Archbishop of *Cologne* took it into his head to reform his *Diocese* after the new fashion, and to that purpose had sent for *Bucer* and *Melancthon*. Of all Prelates, this was certainly calls the the most illiterate; and a man ever resign'd to the Protestants into his will of whosoever govern'd him. Whilst he gave *Diocese.* ear to the sage counsel of the learned *Gropper*, he His extreme ig- held very holy *Councils* for the defence of the an- norance. cient Faith, for the true reformation of manners. Afterwards, the *Lutherans* got possession of his mind, and made him fall blindly into all their sentiments. As the *Landgrave* was one day speaking to the *Emperor* about this new reformer; *Sleid. lib.* *What will the poor man reform,* answered he? *xvii. 276.* *scarce does he understand Latin. He never said Mass but thrice in all his life. I heard him twice; he did not know so much as the beginning of it. The fact is certain, and the Landgrave, who durst not say he knew a word of Latin, reply'd only, He had read good books in the German tongue, and understood Religion. Understanding it, in the Landgrave's*

Epist.
Wit.
Theod.
inter. Ep.
Cal. p.
82.

grave's notion, was favouring the party. As the Pope and the Emperor join'd together against him, the Protestant Princes promised him their assistance in case he were attack'd on the score of Religion.

III.
It's doubt-
ed among
the confe-
derates
whether
Charles V.
should be
treated as
Emperor.
The vic-
tory of
Charles V.
The book
of *Interim.*
M D XLVI.

They soon came to open force. The more the Emperor declared that he did not take up arms on account of Religion, but in order to do himself justice on certain rebels that were headed by the *Elect*or of Saxony and the *Landgrave*; the more these publish'd in their manifestos, that this war was not enter'd upon, but by the secret instigation of the *Roman Antichrist* and the *Council of Trent*. In this manner, they endeavour'd conformably to *Luther's Theses*, to make the war, they waged against the Emperor, appear lawful. Yet there was a dispute amongst 'em how *Charles V.* was to be treated in their publick writings. The *Elect*or more conscientious than the rest, would not have him stiled *Emperor*, because, if so, said he, they could not lawfully wage war against him. The *Landgrave* had none of these scruples; and besides, who had degraded the *Emperor*? who had deprived him of the Empire? was it to become a maxim, that whosoever united himself with the *Pope*, resign'd the title of *Emperor*? the thought was as ridiculous as criminal. In conclusion, to please all parties, it was resolved, without owning or denying *Charles V.* for *Emperor*, that he should be treated as bearing himself for such, and by this expedient all hostilities were allowable. But the issue of the war was not favourable to the *Protestants*. Overthrown by the famous victory of *Charles V.* near the *Elb*, the *Duke of Saxony* and the *Landgrave* taken prisoners, they knew not which way to turn themselves. The *Emperor*, of his own authority, proposed to them a form of doctrine call'd the *Interim*,

Steid.
Ibid. 289.
295. &c.
Ibid. 297.

M D
XLVII.

M D
XLVIII.

or the Emperor's book, which he injoin'd them to follow provisionally till the *Council* sat. In it, all the errors of the *Lutherans* were rejected; and the marriage of such Priests as had become *Lutherans*, with Communion under both kinds where it was re-establish'd, were tolerated only. The *Emperor* was blamed at *Rome* for undertaking to pronounce in matters of Religion. Those on his side answer'd, he had not taken upon him to make a decision or law for the *Church*, but only to prescribe to the *Lutherans*, what they might best do till the *Council* met. This question belongs not to my subject; 'tis sufficient to observe by the way, that the *Interim* cannot pass for an authentick act of the *Church*, since neither the *Pope*, nor the *Bishops*, have ever approved it. Some *Lutherans* accepted of it rather by force than otherwise: the greatest part rejected it, and the project of *Charles V.* had but little success.

Whilst I am on the subject of this book, it will not be amiss to observe, that it had been formerly proposed at the Conference of *Ratisbon* in 1541. Three Catholick divines *Pflugius* Bishop of *Naumburg*, *Groppe* and *Eckius*, by the Emperor's orders, were there to treat about the reconciliation of Religions with *Melancthon*, *Bucer* and *Pistorius*, three Protestants. *Eckius* rejected the book, and the Prelates, together with the *Catholick* states, did not think it fit that a body of doctrine should be proposed, without being communicated to the *Pope's* Legate then at *Ratisbon*. Cardinal *Contarenus* was the man, a very learned divine, and whom even the *Protestants* have praised. Wherefore, the *Legate* having been consulted, answer'd, that an affair of this nature ought to be referred to the *Pope* in order to be regulated either in the general *Council*, that was going to be open'd, or by some other proper method.

IV.

The project of the *Interim*.
Conference of *Ratisbon* in 1541.
M D XLII,
Sleidan
lib. xiv.
Act. coll.
Ratisb.
Argent.
1542. p.
199.
Ibid. 132.
Mel. lib.
1. Ep. 24.
25.
Act. Ra-
tisb. Ibid.
136.

The

V.
Articles
agreed and
not agreed
upon in
this Con-
ference,
and in
what man-
ner.

Ibid. 153.
Sleid.

Ibid.

Ibid. 157.

Ibid. Resp.
Princ. 78.
Annotata,
aut omiffa
in artic.
Concil.

82.

Lib. Ep.

29. *ad*

Car. V.

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The truth is, these conferences went on never-
theless; and when the three *Protestants* were
agreed with *Pflugius* and *Gropper* on any articles,
they were call'd *Articles accorded*, altho' *Eckius*
all the while opposed them. The *Protestants* de-
sired the *Emperor* to authorize these articles in the
mean time, while the rest were under debate. But
this was opposed by the *Catholicks*, who declared
several times, they could not consent to the
changing of any *Dogma*, or *Rite*, received in the
Catholick Church. The *Protestants* on their side,
who press'd the reception of the *Articles accorded*,
put their own explications on them, which were
not agreed to; and made a list of *Things omitted*
in the articles accorded. *Melancthon*, who digested
these remarks, wrote to the *Emperor* in the name
of all the *Protestants*, that the articles accorded,
should be received, provided they were well under-
stood; that is, they themselves were sensible of
their being conceived in ambiguous terms, and
it was nothing but an imposition to press, as they
did, the reception of them. Thus all the projects
of accommodation vanish'd into smoke: the
which I am pleas'd with remarking occasionally,
that it may not be thought strange, I should speak
only, as it were by the bye, of so famous an action
as the Conference of *Ratisbon*.

VI.
Another
Confe-
rence. The
finishing
stroke put
to the *In-
terim*.
The little
success of
this book.

M D
XLVI.
Sleid. lib.
xx. 344.

Another was held in the same *City*, and with
as little success, in 1546. The *Emperor*, never-
theless, order'd his book to be revised, and *Pflu-
gius* Bishop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Helding* the
titular Bishop of *Sidon*, and *Islebius* a Protestant,
put the finishing stroke to it. But he did but set a
fresh example, how bad success these *Imperial* de-
cisions were used to have, in matters of *Religion*.

Whilst the *Emperor* was at work to make his
Interim be received in the *City* of *Strasburg*, *Bu-
cer* publish'd there a new *Confession of Faith*, in
which

which this Church declares, that she always unchangeably retains her first *Confession of Faith* presented to Charles V. at *Ausburg* in 1530, and likewise, receives the agreement made at *Wittenberg* with *Luther*, namely, that act which imported, that even those who have not Faith, and who abuse the *Sacrament*, receive the proper *Substance* of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*.

VII.
Bucer's
new Con-
fession of
Faith.
Hosp. An.
1548.
204.

In this *Confession of Faith*, *Bucer* excludes nothing expressly but *Transubstantiation*, and leaves whole and intire all that can establish the *Real* and *Substantial* Presence.

The most remarkable thing in this is, that *Bucer*, who by subscribing the articles of *Smalkald*, at the same time, as hath appear'd, had subscribed the *Confession of Ausburg*; retain'd withal the *Confession of Strasburg*; that is, he authoriz'd two acts which were made to destroy each other: for it may be remember'd that the *Confession of Strasburg* was made only to avoid the subscribing of that of *Ausburg*, and that those of the *Confession of Ausburg* would never admit for brethren, those of *Strasburg* nor their associates. All this is now reconciled; that is, in the new *Reformation* change you may, but not own you change. The *Reformation*, should it own this, would appear too human a work; and it's better to approve four or five contradictory acts, when not allowing they are so, than to own themselves in the wrong, especially in *Confessions of Faith*.

VIII.
Two con-
trary acts
are re-
ceived at
Strasburg
at the same
time.
Sup. lib. iv.
Sup. lib. iii.

This was the last action that *Bucer* did in *Germany*. During the commotions occasion'd by the *Interim*, he found a refuge in *England* among the new *Protestants*, who gather'd strength under *Edward*. There he died in great esteem, yet not able to alter any thing in the articles, which *Peter Martyr* had establish'd there: so that pure *Zuinglianism* was the Religion then. But *Bucer's* notions

IX.
Bucer
goes for
England,
where he
dies with-
out being
able to
change any
thing in

*Peter
Martyr's
articles.*

X.

*Osiander
also aban-
dons his
Church of
Nurem-
burg, and
sets all
Prussia in
an uproar.*

notions will have their turn, and we shall see *Peter Martyr's* articles changed under *Elizabeth*.

The troubles, caused by the *Interim*, dispersed abundance of the *Reformers*. The *Protestants* even were scandaliz'd to see 'em thus forsake their *Churches*. To venture their lives for them, or for the *Reformation*, was what they were not accustomed to; and it has been an observation of old standing, that none of 'em laid down their lives for their flock; unless it were *Cranmer*, who yet did all he could to save his, by forswearing his Religion as long as swearing was to his purpose. The famous *Osiander* was one of the first that took to his heels. On a sudden, he disappear'd at *Nuremberg*, the Church he had govern'd five and twenty years, and ever since the beginning of the *Reformation*. *Prussia* was the place he retreated to. Of all Countries this was one of the most addicted to *Lutheranism*. It belong'd to the *Teutonic Order*: but the great master of it, Prince *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, conceived all at once, a desire of *marrying*, of *reforming*, and making himself an hereditary *Sovereign*. And thus did the whole Country become *Lutheran*, where the Doctor of *Nuremberg* soon excited new disorders.

MDXXV.

XI.

What sort
of man
Osiander
was. His
doctrine
about jus-
tification.
Chyt. lib.
xvii.
Saxon. tit.
Osiandri-
ca.
p. 444.
If. xxiii. 6.
33. 16.
Jer. xxiii.
6.

Andrew Osiander had signaliz'd himself among the *Lutherans* by a new opinion he had introduced concerning *Justification*. He would not have it to be, by the *imputation* of *Jesus Christ's* justice, as all other *Protestants* maintain'd; but, by the intimate union of *God's* substantial justice with our souls, grounded on that saying often repeated in *Isaiab* and *Jeremy*, *The Lord is our righteousness*. For as, according to him, we live by *God's* substantial life, and love by the essential love he bears himself; so, we are just by his essential justice communicated to us: to which, the substance of
the

the word incarnate dwelling in us by Faith, by the word, and the Sacraments, is to be added. Ever since the time that the *Confession of Ausburg* was in hand, he had used his utmost endeavours to prevail with the whole party to embrace this prodigy of doctrine, and, to *Luther's* face, defended it with the greatest boldness. At the assembly of *Smalkald*, men were astonish'd at his rashness: yet, fearing lest new divisions might break out in the party, wherein he had distinguish'd himself by his great learning, they chose to bear with him. He, above all men, had the talent of diverting *Luther*; and *Melancthon*, at their return from the Conference of *Marpurg* held with the *Sacramentarians*, wrote to *Camerarius*, that *Osiander* had made *Luther* and all of them exceeding merry.

Lib. iv.
Ep 88.

XII.

Osiander's
prophane
spirit ob-
served by
Calvin.
Cal. Ep.
ad Mel.
146.

Ibid.

This he did by playing the droll, chiefly at table when his wit abounded most; but in such prophane jests, that I have a difficulty in repeating them. 'Tis *Calvin* who informs us in a letter which he writes to *Melancthon* concerning this man, *That, as often as he found good Wine at an entertainment, he praised it by applying to it those words which God utter'd with respect to himself, I am that I am.* And again: *Here is the Son of the living God.* *Calvin* had been present at the banquets, in which he vented these blasphemies, whereat he conceived a horror. Yet they went down with the company, and no exception taken. The same *Calvin* speaks of *Osiander*, as of a brutal man, a wild beast not to be tamed. As for him, said he, the very first time I saw him, I detested his prophane spirit and infamous behaviour, and always look'd upon him as the shame of the Protestant Party. Yet, he was one of the Pillars of it: the Church of *Nuremburg*, one of the first of the sect, had placed him at the head of her Pastors from the

the year 1522, and he is every where found at the Conferences among the chief of the Party: but Calvin is astonish'd, that they were able to bear with him so long, and cannot conceive, considering all his furies, how Melancthon could have lavished so much praise upon him.

XIII.
Melancthon's opinion and that of other Protestants concerning Osiander.
S. L. II. n. 3.

Lib. II.
Ep. 240.
259. 447.
&c.

Ibid.

Calv. Ep.
ad Cranm.
Col. 134.

It will be thought, perchance, that Calvin used him thus scurvily from a particular hatred of his own; for Osiander was the most violent enemy the Sacramentarians had, and he it was that carried the subject of the *Real Presence* to such extremity as to maintain, that they ought to say of the Eucharistick bread, *this Bread is God*. But the Lutherans had no better an opinion of him; and Melancthon, who often found it served his turn to praise him, as Calvin reproaches him with doing to excess, writing to his friends, does nevertheless blame his extreme arrogance, his ravings, his other excesses, and the monstrousness of his opinions. It was not Osiander's fault that he did not go to trouble England, where the esteem his brother-in-law Cranmer was in, he doubted not would give him credit: but Melancthon acquaints us, that Persons of authority and learning had represented the danger there was, of bringing into that Country a man, who had spread, in the Church, so great a Chaos of new opinions. Cranmer himself gave ear to reason on this head, and hearken'd to Calvin, who spoke to him of the Illusions, whereby Osiander bewitch'd himself and others.

XIV.
Osiander puffed up with the Prince's favour keeps within no bounds.
Acad. Re-

He was no sooner arrived in Prussia, than he set the university of Koningsberg in a flame with his new doctrine of Justification. However eager always in its defence yet he stood in fear, say my authors, of Luther's magnanimity; and, during his life, never durst write any thing on that subject. The magnanimous Luther fear'd him no less: in

in general, the *Reformation* void of authority, fear'd nothing so much as new divisions which she knew not how to terminate; and lest they should irritate a man whose eloquence was formidable, he was left at liberty to utter what he pleased by word of mouth. In *Prussia*, finding himself free from the Party's yoke, and, what elated his heart, in great favour with the *Prince* who had given him the first chair in his *University*, he gave himself free scope, and soon divided the whole Country.

Other disputes were enkindled at the same time in the other parts of *Lutheranism*. That which arose about *Ceremonies*, or things indifferent, was carried on with a great deal of acrimony. *Melancthon* back'd by the Academies of *Leypsic* and *Wittemberg*, where he was all-powerful, would not have them rejected. It had ever been his opinion that, in the exterior worship, the least was changed the better. For which reason, during the *Interim*, he made himself very easy about these indifferent practices, nor did believe, says he, that *for a surplice, for some Holy-days, or for the order of lessons*, they ought to draw a persecution on themselves. This doctrine was made criminal in him, and it was decided in the Party, that these *indifferent things* ought absolutely to be rejected, because the use made of them, was contrary to the liberty of the *Churches*, and contain'd, said they, a kind of profession of *Popery*.

But *Flaccus Illyricus*, who started this question, had a deeper design. His aim was directed at *Melancthon's* ruin, whose Disciple he had been, but of whom he was afterwards become so jealous as not to endure him. And now particular reasons egg'd on his resentment more than ever: for, whereas *Melancthon* endeavour'd then to

XV.
The dispute on Ceremonies, or things indifferent.

M D
XLIX.
Sleid. lib.
xxi. 365.
xxii. 378:
Lib. 1. Ep.
16. ad
Phil. cant.
An. 1525.
Lib. 1. Ep.
70.
Lib. 11.
36.
Concord p.
514. 789.

XVI.
Illyricus's
jealousy
and hidden
designs
against
Melancthon.
Sleid.
Ibid.

undermine *Luther's* doctrine of the *Real Presence*, *Illyricus* and his friends carried it to such extremes, as to set up *Ubiquity*. In fact, we see it decided by the greatest part of the *Lutheran Churches*, and the Acts thereof are printed in the book of *Concord*, which almost all the *Lutherans* in *Germany* have accepted.

Synt. Gen.
p. 2 p.
48. 93.

It shall be spoken of hereafter; and to follow the order of time, I must speak at present of the *Confession of Faith* call'd *Saxonick*, and of that of *Wirtemberg*: not *Wittemberg* in *Saxony*, but the capital City of the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*.

XVII
Saxonick
Confession,
and that of
Wirtem-
berg.
Why
made,
and by
what Au-
thors.

They were both made much about the same time, namely, in 1551, and 1552, in order to be presented to the Council of *Trent*, where the victorious *Charles V.* would have the *Protestants* make their appearance.

M D LI.
M D LII.
Lib. XXII.

The *Saxonick Confession* was drawn by *Melancthon*, and, as we learn from *Sleidan*, by order of *Maurice* the *Electör* whom the *Emperor* had put in the place of *John Frederick*. All the *Doctors* and all the *Pastors* solemnly conven'd at *Leypsick*, approved it with one voice, nor ought there to be any thing more authentick than a *Confession of Faith* made by so renown'd a person, in order to be presented in a *General Council*. And truly, it was received not only throughout all the territories of the house of *Saxony* and of many other *Princes*, but also by the *Churches* of *Pomerania* and that of *Strasburg*, as appears by the subscriptions and declarations of those *Churches*. *Brentius* was the Author of the *Confession of Wirtemberg*, next to *Melancthon* the most famous man of the whole Party. *Melancthon's Confession* was call'd by himself the repetition of that of *Ausburg*. *Christopher Duke of Wirtemberg*, by whose authority the *Confession of Wirtemberg* was publish'd, declares likewise, that he confirms, and does but repeat

Synt. Gen.
2. Part.
pag. 94.
6 seq.

Ibid.

repeat the *Confession* of *Ausburg*: but in order to repeat it, there was no necessity of making another; and this word, *repeat*, only shews, they were ashamed of producing so many new *Confessions* of Faith.

Indeed, to begin with the *Saxonick*; the article of the *Eucharist* was there explain'd in terms very different from those employ'd at *Ausburg*. For, to say nothing of the long discourse of four or five pages, which *Melancthon* substitutes in lieu of two or three lines of the tenth article of *Ausburg*, which decided this matter; here is what was essential in it: *It's necessary*, said he, *to inform mankind, that the Sacraments are actions instituted by God, and that things are not Sacraments, except in the time of their use so established; nevertheless, in the established use of this Communion, Jesus Christ is truly and substantially present, truly given to those who receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; whereby Jesus Christ testifies that he is in them, and makes them his members.*

XVIII.
Article of
the Eucha-
rist in the
Saxonick
Confession.
Cap. de
Cæna.
Synt. Ger.
2. Part. p.
72.

Melancthon avoids saying what he had said at *Ausburg*, *That the Body and Blood are truly given with the Bread and Wine*, and much more, what *Luther* had added at *Smalkald*, *That the Bread and Wine are the true Body and true Blood of Jesus Christ, the which are not only given and received by pious Christians, but also by the impious*. These important words, which *Luther* had chosen with so great care, in order to explain his doctrine, altho' sign'd by *Melancthon* at *Smalkald*, as hath appear'd, were by *Melancthon* himself cut off from his *Saxonick Confession*. It seems, he was no longer of opinion that the Body of *Jesus Christ* was taken by the mouth together with the Bread, nor received *Substantially* by the impious, altho' he did not deny a *Substantial* Presence, in which

XIX.
Changes
which *Me-
lancthon*
made, by
the *Saxo-
nick Con-
fession*, in
the Arti-
cles of
that of
Ausburg
and *Smal-
kald*.

Luke ii.

34.

Positus in
figrum,
cui con-
tradicitur.

XX.

Article of
the Eucha-
rist in the
Wirtem-
berg Con-
fession.

Conf.

Wirt. C.
de Euch.

Ibid. p.

115.

Jesus Christ came to the faithful, not only by his virtue and spirit, but also in his own proper Flesh and Substance, divided, nevertheless, from Bread and Wine: for it seems, among the many novelties on this subject, this too was to shew itself, and, according to the prophecy of the venerable *Simeon*, *Jesus Christ*, in this *Mystery*, was to be a mark set for contradictions in these latter ages, as with respect to his *Divinity* and *Incar-nation*, he had been, in the first ages of *Christia-nity*.

In this manner, was the *Confession* of *Ausburg* and *Luther's* doctrine repeated in the *Saxonick Confession*. The *Confession* of *Wirtemberg* departs not less from that of *Ausburg*, nor from the arti-cles of *Smalkald*. It says, *That the true Body and true Blood are distributed in the Eucharist*, and rejects those who say, *the Bread and Wine are signs of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ ab-sent*. It adds, *That it is in the power of God to annihilate the Substance of Bread, or to change it into his Body; but that God uses not this power in the Supper, and true Bread remains with the true Presence of the Body*. It manifestly establishes *Concomitancy* by deciding, that, *altho' Jesus Christ be distributed whole and intire as well in the Bread as in the Wine of the Eucharist, the Use neverthe-less of both parts ought to be universal*. Thus it grants us two things; one, the possibility of *Transubstantiation*; the other, the certainty of *Concomitancy*: but tho' it defends the *Reality* so far, as to admit *Concomitancy*, it explains never-theless these words, *This is my Body*, by those of *Ezekiel* who says, *this is Jerusalem*, shewing the representation of that City.

XXI.

The con-
fusion man
falls into
when he

Thus there is nothing but confusion when man departs from the straight path to follow his own inventions. As the Abettors of the *figurative sense* receive

receive some impression from the *literal one*, so the Abettors of the *literal sense* are sometimes dazzled by the deceitful subtilties of that which is *figurative*. But it is not our business to examine here, whether or no, by torturing the different expressions of so many *Confessions of Faith*, some violent way may be found out to bring them to a conformity of sense. 'Tis enough for me to make it observed, how much those were put to it to content themselves with their own *Confessions of Faith*, who had forsaken the *Church's Faith*.

delivers himself over to his own conceits.

The other articles of these *Confessions of Faith* are not less remarkable than that of the *Eucharist*.

XXII.

God wills not sin. An Article better explain'd in the *Saxonick Confession* than it had been in that of *Ausburg*, p. 53.

The *Saxonick Confession* acknowledges, that *The will is free; that God wills not sin, nor approves, nor co-operates to it: but that the free-will of men and devils is the cause of their sin and fall.* *Melancthon* is here to be commended for correcting *Luther* and correcting himself, and for speaking more clearly than he had done in the *Confession of Ausburg*.

XXIII.

The co-operation of free-will. *Cap. de rem. pecc. delib arb. &c. Synt. Gen. 2. part. p. 54. 60. 61. &c.*

I have heretofore observed, that at *Ausburg*, he did not own the exercise of *free-will* except in the actions of civil-life, and that afterwards, he extended it even to Christian actions. This he begins to discover more plainly to us in the *Saxonick Confession*: for, after explaining the nature of *free-will*, and the choice of the will, and that it suffices not alone for the works, which we call *supernatural*, he twice repeats, that *The will, after having received the Holy Ghost, remains not idle*, namely, that it is not without action; which seems to give to it, as the *Council of Trent* likewise does, a free action under the guidance of the *Holy Ghost* who moves it interiorly.

And what *Melancthon* gives us to understand in this *Confession of Faith*, he explains in his

XXIV.

Melancthon's doctrine

trine on
the co-o-
peration of
free-will
Demipela-
gian.
Lib. iv.
Ep. 240.

Ep. Mel.
inter Cal.
Ep. p.
384.

Conf. Aug.
Art. xviii.
S. l. III.
#. 191. 20.

letters more distinctly ; for, he proceeds even to own the human will, in *supernatural* works, as a joint agent ; *agens partiale*, according to the School-language ; as much as to say, that man acts with God, and of both there is made one total agent. Thus he explain'd himself at the Conference of *Ratisbon* in 1541, and notwithstanding that he was conscious, this explication would be displeasing to his companions, yet he stuck to it, *because*, says he, *the thing is true*. Thus did he come back from the excesses he had learnt from *Luther*, tho' *Luther* persisted in them to the very last. But he delivers himself more at large, on this subject, in a letter writ to *Calvin* : *I had a friend*, says he, *who reasoning on predestination, equally believed these two things, that all happens among men as Providence ordains, and that there is a contingency nevertheless* : yet he own'd he was not able to reconcile these points : *For my part*, proceeds he, *who hold that God is not the cause of sin, and wills not sin, I own this contingency in the infirmity of our judgment, to the end that the ignorant may confess, that David fell of himself, and by his own will, into sin : and might have preserved the Holy Ghost he had within him, and that, in this combat, there is some action of the will to be acknowledged*. The which he confirms by a passage of *St. Basil* who says : *Only have the will, and God will come unto you*. Whereby *Melancthon* seem'd to insinuate, not only that the will acts, but also begins ; which *St. Basil* rejects in other places, and *Melancthon* does not appear to me ever to have rejected sufficiently, seeing we have before taken notice, how he had slipp'd a word into the *Confession of Ausburg*, by which he seem'd to intimate, there was not so much harm in saying, that the will could *begin*, as that it could *finish* of itself the work of God.

Be

Be that as it will, it's certain he own'd the exercise of *free will* in the operations of grace; since he so plainly own'd, that *David* could have preserved the *Holy Ghost* at the time he lost it, as he might have lost it at the time he preserved it: but altho' this was his sentiment, he durst not declare it distinctly in the *Saxonick Confession*; happy for him! he could insinuate it gently by these words, *The will is not idle, nor without action.*

XXV.
The exercise of *free-will* plainly own'd by *Melancthon* in the operations of grace.

The thing was, *Luther* had so dreadfully thunder-struck *free-will*, and bequeath'd to his sect such an aversion to the exercise of it, that *Melancthon* durst not utter, but with fear and trembling, what he believed, and even his own *Confessions of Faith* were ambiguous.

But all his precautions could not secure him from censure. *Ilyricus* and his followers would never forgive him this short sentence, which he had placed in the *Saxonick Confession*, *The will is not idle, nor without action.* They condemn'd this expression in two Synodical assemblies together with the text of *St. Basil*, which, as we have seen, *Melancthon* made use of.

XXVI.
His doctrine condemn'd by his brethren.

This condemnation is set down in the book of *Concord*. All they did to save *Melancthon's* honour was not to name him, but only to condemn his expressions under the general name of new *Authors*, or *Papists*, or *Scholasticks*. But whoever shall consider, with what care the very expressions of *Melancthon* were cull'd out for condemnation, will plainly see, that he was the person aim'd at, and the sincere *Lutherans* own as much.

P. 5. 82.
680.

Here is, in short, the nature of these new *sects*. Men suffer themselves to be prejudiced against certain doctrines of which they take up false notions. Thus did *Melancthon*, at first, run into extremes with *Luther* against *free-will*, and would

XXVII.
Contusion of the new sects.

allow it no action in works supernatural. Convinced of his error, he leans to the opposite extreme, and so far from excluding the action of *free-will*, he proceeds to attribute to it even the beginning of *supernatural* actions. When a little inclined to return to truth, and own that *free-will* hath its agency in the operations of grace, he stands condemn'd by his own people: such is the confusion and perplexity man falls into by casting off the salutary yoke of *Church-authority*.

XXVIII.
Doctrine
of the *Lutherans*,
which
contradicts
itself.

P. 675.
&c.

But altho' one part of the *Lutherans* will not receive these terms of *Melancthon*: the will is not *without action* in works of grace: I see not how they can deny the thing, since they all confess unanimously, that man, under grace, may reject and lose it.

This is what they have asserted in the *Confession* of *Ausburg*; what they have repeated in the *Apology*; what they have anew decided and inculcated in the book of *Concord*: so that, nothing among them is more certain. Whence it is plain, they acknowledge with the Council of *Trent* a *free-will* acting under the operation of grace so, as to be able to reject it; which thing it's proper to remark on account of some of our *Calvinists*, who for want of well-understanding the state of the question, make that doctrine criminal in us, which they support, nevertheless, in their brethren the *Lutherans*.

XXIX.
A considerable
article of the
Saxonick
Confession
concerning
the distinction
of
mortal and
venial sins.

P. 75.

There is also an article in the *Saxonick Confession* so much the more deserving notice, as it overthrows one of the foundations of the new *Reformation*, which will not own that the distinction betwixt sins *mortal* and *venial* is grounded on the nature of sin itself. But, here the divines of *Saxony* confess with *Melancthon*, that there are two sorts of sin; *One which banishes the Holy Ghost from the heart, the other, which does*

not

not banish him. In order to explain the nature of these different sins, they observe two kinds of Christians, One, who repress concupiscence, the other, who obey it. In those who combat against it, proceed they, sin is not reigning; it is VENIAL; it bereaves us not of the Holy Ghost; it subverts not the foundation, and is not against conscience. They add, that such sort of sins are covered, i. e. they are not imputed, thro' God's mercy. Certain it is, according to this doctrine, that the distinction of mortal and venial sins consists, not only in God's pardoning some and not pardoning others, as is commonly said in the pretended Reformation; but proceeds from the nature of the thing. Now, to condemn the doctrine of imputed justice, no more than this is requisite; since it's allow'd for certain, notwithstanding the sins the just man falls into daily, that sin reigns not in him, but rather Charity reigns in him, and consequently Justice: the which suffices to denominate him truly just, since a thing takes its denomination from what is prevailing therein. Whence it follows, that to explain gratuitous justification, there is no necessity of saying, we are justified by imputation, but rather, that we are truly justified by a justice which is in us, yet proceeding from the gift of God.

Melancthon omitted, for what reason I know not, to put in the Saxonick Confession, what he said in the Ausburg Confession and Apology concerning the merit of good works. But it must not to be concluded from hence, that the Lutherans had rejected this doctrine, since, at the same time, a chapter is found in the Confession of Wirtemberg, where it's said, That good-works ought necessarily to be practised, and thro' the gratuitous bounty of God, they MERIT their corporal and spiritual rewards. Which, by the way, makes

XXX.
Merit of
works in
the Con-
fession of
Wirtem-
berg.
Confes-
sion of
Wirtem-
berg.
de bonis
operib.
Ibid. p.
106.

makes it appear, that the nature of *merit* perfectly agrees with *grace*.

XXXI.
The conference of
Wormes to reconcile
both Religions. Division of
the *Lutherans*.

M D LVII.
Mel. lib.

1. *Ep. 70.*
Burn. 2.
part. lib.

11 p.

355.

Lib. 1. Ep.

70. ejusd.

Ep. ad Albert.

Hardenb.

Et ad

Bulling.

apud.

Hospin.

An. 1557.

250.

Lib. iv.
868. Et
seq.

In 1557, a new assembly, by the appointment of *Charles V.* was held at *Wormes* for settling Religion. *Pflugius*, the author of the *Interim*, presided in it. *Mr Burnet*, ever attentive to turn every thing to the advantage of the new *Reformation*, gives a short account of it, in which he represents the *Catholicks* as men, who unable to bear down those they call *Hereticks* with open force, divide them among themselves, and engage them into heats about lesser matters. But *Melancthon's* own testimony in this case will let us into the bottom of the affair. As soon as the *Protestant* Doctors named for the conference were come to *Wormes*, the Ambassadors of their respective *Princes* assembled them together to acquaint them from the said *Princes*, that, above all things, and before they conferr'd with the *Catholicks*, they were to agree among themselves, and at the same time, to condemn four sorts of errors. 1. That of the *Zuinglians*. 2. That of *Osiander* about justification. 3. That proposition which affirms, good-works are necessary to salvation. 4. And lastly, The error of those who had received indifferent ceremonies. This last article expressly glanced at *Melancthon*, and it was *Illyricus* with his Cabal that proposed it. *Melancthon* had been warn'd of his designs, and in his journey wrote to his friend *Camerarius*, that, at table, and in drinking-bouts, certain preliminary articles were drawn, with the design of making him and *Brentius* sign them. With the last he was very much united, and represents *Illyricus*, or some one of that Cabal, as a fury that went from door to door to exasperate people. It was also believed in the Party, that *Melancthon* was pretty favourable to the *Zuinglians*, and *Brentius* to *Osiander*.

The

The same *Melancthon* appear'd much inclined to the necessity of *good-works*, and this whole enterprise visibly aim'd at him and his friends. Hitherto, therefore, it was not the *Catholicks* that labour'd to divide the *Protestants*. They were enough divided of themselves; nor was it, as *Mr. Burnet* pretends, *about lesser matters*; since, except the question of *indifferent* ceremonies, all the rest, concerning the *Real Presence*, *Osiander's* monstrous Justification, and the manner in which *good-works* were to be judged necessary, were of the utmost consequence.

As to the first of these points, *Melancthon* agreed, that the *Zuinglians* deserved to be condemn'd as well as the *Papists*. To the second, that *Osiander* was not less worthy of censure. To the third, that from this proposition, *good-works are necessary for salvation*, the last word should be cut off: so that *good-works*, in spite of the *Gospel* which denounces, that, without them, we have no share in the Kingdom of God, remain necessary 'tis true; but not *for salvation*: and whereas *Mr. Burnet* hath affirm'd that the *Protestants* always declared *good-works* indispensably and absolutely necessary to *salvation*; quite on the contrary, we find this equally rejected by *Melancthon's* enemies, and by himself, namely, by both parties of the *Protestants* in *Germany*.

XXXII.
The Lutherans unanimously condemn the necessity of good-works for salvation.
Loc. sup. cit.
S. lib. vii. n. 108.

As for *Osiander*, *Brentius* did not fail to take his part, not by defending the doctrine imputed to him, but by maintaining, that they had not comprehended this author's sense, tho' *Osiander* had so plainly express'd himself, that neither *Melancthon*, nor any body else, doubted of it. It appear'd then to the *Lutherans* a mighty easy matter to agree all in the condemnations required by *Illyricus* and his friends: but *Melancthon* put a stop to it, who was ever apprehensive of raising

XXXIII.
Osiander spared by the Lutherans.

new

new disturbances in the *Reformation*, already, by its great division, threatned with destruction.

XXXIV. The divisions of the Lutherans break forth, which the Catholics endeavour to improve for their salvation.

These disputes of the *Protestants* soon reach'd the ears of the *Catholicks*, for *Illyricus* and his friends rais'd great clamours, not only at *Wormes*, but over all *Germany*. The *Catholicks* had resolv'd to press, in the Conference, the necessity of submitting to the *Church's judgment*, in order to put an end to disputes arising among Christians; and the contentions of *Protestants* very opportunely fell in with this design, they making it appear that they themselves, who spoke so much of the perspicuity of *Scripture* and its full *sufficiency* to terminate all disputes, agreed so little among themselves, nor had hitherto found out the way of finishing the least debate. The weakness of the *Reformation*, so ready at starting difficulties, so bad at solving them, was visible to every eye. Then *Illyricus* and his friends, to shew the *Catholicks* they were not unprovided of means to repress others bred in the *Protestant* party, laid before the *Catholic* deputies a copy of condemnations they had drawn, but which was rejected by their companions: thus the division blazed abroad in a manner not to be conceal'd. The *Catholicks* judg'd it to no purpose to continue on these Conferences, where, indeed, every thing was at a stand, and accordingly left the *Illyricans* to dispute with the *Melancthonists*, as *St. Paul* left the *Pharisees* to dispute with the *Sadducees*, drawing withal as much advantage, as he was able from their notorious dissentions.

Acts. xxiii.
6.

XXXV. *Osiander's* triumph in *Prussia*. The memorable conversion of *Staphylus*.

In *Prussia* something vigorous and some resolute decision was expected against *Osiander*, whose insolence was beyond all bearing. He made it openly appear, how little account he made of the *Ausburg-Confession*, of *Melancthon* its author, and the merits even of *Jesus Christ*, which he did

not

not so much as mention in the *justification* of sin-
ners. Some Divines of *Koningsberg* did what
they could to oppose his doctrine, and among
others, *Frederick Staphylus*, one of the most re-
nown'd Professors in Divinity of that university,
that for sixteen years together, at *Wittemberg*,
had heard *Luther* and *Melancthon*: but finding
they gain'd nothing by their learned works, and
Osiander's eloquence prevail'd universally; they
had recourse to the authority of the Church of
Wittemberg and the rest of the Protestant
Churches in *Germany*. When, instead of distinct
and vigorous condemnations, which the but weak
Faith of the people stood in need of, they beheld
nothing came from those quarters but timorous
writings, from which *Osiander* reap'd advantage;
they pitied the weakness of the Party thus bereft
of all authority against errors. *Staphylus* open'd
his eyes, and return'd to the bosom of the *Catho-
lick Church*.

The *Lutherans* assembled themselves at *Franc-
fort* the year after, in order to agree about a form
relating to the *Eucharist*, as if, till then they had
done nothing. They began, according to custom,
by saying, they did but repeat the *Confession* of
Ausburg. Notwithstanding, they added to it,
*That Jesus Christ was given in the use of the Sa-
crament, truly, substantially, and in a vivifying*
manner; and that this Sacrament contain'd two
things, namely, the Bread and the Body; and
that it's an invention of the Monks, unknown to all
antiquity, to say, that the Body is given us under
the species of Bread.

*Chyt. in
Sax. lib.
xvii. Tit.
Osiand.
p. 444. &
seq.
Ibid. 448.*

XXXVI.
A new
form of the
Lutherans
in order to
explain the
Eucharist
in the as-
sembly of
*Franc-
fort.*
M D
LVIII.
Hosp. f.
264.

Strange confusion! they did nothing, said they,
but repeat the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, yet, this ex-
pression condemn'd by them at *Francfort*, viz.
the Body is present under the species, is found in
one of the editions of that same *Confession* which
they

*Sous les
especes du
pain &
du vin.*

they pretended to repeat, and even in that *edition* own'd at *Francfort* to be so genuine, that to this day, in the *Rituals* used by the *French Church* of that City, we read the tenth article of the *Ausburg Confession* couch'd in these terms, *the Body and Blood are received under the species of Bread and Wine.*

XXXVII.

The ques-
tion of
Ubiquity
made *Mel-*
ancthon
turn to-
wards the
Sacramen-
tarians.

M D LIX.

But the concern of most weight among the *Lutherans* at that time, was that of *Ubiquity*, which *Westphalus*, *James-Andrew Smidelin*, *David Chytræus* and others set up with all their might. *Melancthon* opposed two reasons against them, than which nothing could be more convincing: one, that this doctrine confounded the two natures of *Jesus Christ*, making him *immense*, not only according to his *Divinity*, but his *Humanity* likewise, and even, with respect to his *Body*; the other, that it destroyed the mystery of the *Eucharist*, by taking away every thing that is peculiar to it, should *Jesus Christ* as man be no other way therein present, than he is in *wood* and *stone*. These two reasons made *Melancthon* look with horror on the doctrine of *Ubiquity*, and the aversion he had to it made him insensibly begin to incline towards those, who defended the *figurative sense*. He held a particular communication with 'em, above all with *Calvin*. But certain it is, he did not find, in his sentiments, what he desir'd.

XXXVIII

The in-
compatibi-
lity of *Mel-*
ancthon's
sentiments
with those
of *Calvin.*
Lib. 1.
Ep. 70.

Calvin obstinately maintain'd, that a believer once regenerated, could not lose grace, and *Melancthon* agreed with the *Lutherans*, that this doctrine was damnable and impious. *Calvin* could not endure the necessity of *Baptism*, and *Melancthon* would never depart from it. *Calvin* condemn'd what *Melancthon* taught on the co-operation of *free-will*, and *Melancthon* did not believe he could recant.

It appears sufficiently, they were no less at variance about *predestination*; and altho' *Calvin* repeated frequently, that *Melancthon*, in his heart, could not help thinking as he did; yet he never could draw any thing from him to that purpose.

As for what concerns the *Supper*, *Calvin* brags every where, that *Melancthon* was of his opinion, but as he does not produce one word of *Melancthon's* clearly to that purpose, but on the contrary, taxes him in all his letters and books with having never explain'd himself sufficiently on that subject, methinks, one may reasonably doubt of what he has advanced; and what seems to me to carry the greatest likelihood is this, that neither of these two authors thoroughly understood the other; *Melancthon* being imposed upon by the expressions of a *proper Substance*, which *Calvin* every where affected as we shall see; and *Calvin* drawing to his own sense the words, by which *Melancthon* separated the Bread from the Body of our Lord, yet, without the design of derogating thereby from the *Substantial Presence*, which he own'd in the faithful communicants.

If *Peucer*, *Melancthon's* son-in-law, may be believed, his father-in-law was a down right *Calvinist*. *Peucer* became one himself, and suffer'd greatly afterwards for his correspondence with *Beza*, on intent to introduce *Calvinism* into *Saxony*. He took a pride in following the sentiments of his father-in-law, and wrote books where he gives an account of what he had heard from him in private relating to this subject. But without impeaching *Peucer's* credit, 'tis no unlikely thing that he, in a matter they had so perplex'd with equivocal expressions, might not have fully comprehended *Melancthon's* meaning, and for want of that, have adapted his words to his own preconceived opinions.

XXXIX.

Whether
or no *Melancthon*
was a *Calvinist* with
respect to
the *Eucharist*.

Peut.
narr.
hist. de
sent.
Mel.
It. hist.
carcer. &c.

After

After all, to know what *Melancthon* thought one way or other, is to me of very small importance. Many *Protestants* in *Germany*, more interested in this cause than we are, have undertaken his defence; in whose behalf I shall only say, what candour and truth oblige me to, viz. that I have no where found in any of this author's writings, that *Jesus Christ* is not received, except by *Faith*; which, howsoever, is the true characteristick of the *figurative sense*. No more do I find, that he has ever said, with those that maintain it, that the unworthy do not receive the *true Body* and *true Blood*; but on the contrary, it appears to me, that he persisted in what was determin'd on this subject in the *Wittemberg-agreement*.

S. lib. iv.
n. 23.

XL.
Melancthon dares
not speak.

What we know for certain is, that thro' the fear *Melancthon* was in of increasing the scandalous divisions of the new *Reformation*, which he saw was quite void of all moderation; he scarce durst utter himself but in general terms, wherein, each one might find what meaning he thought fit. The *Sacramentarians* did not suit him: the *Lutherans* ran all into *Ubiquity*. *Brentius*, almost the only *Lutheran* he had maintain'd a perfect union with, went over to that side; this prodigy of doctrine spread insensibly thro' the whole sect. He would willingly have spoken, but knew not what to say; so great was the opposition he met with to what he believed was truth. *Have I the power*, said he, *to unfold truth whole and intire in the Country I am in, and would the Court endure it?* To which he often added: *I will speak the truth when Courts do not hinder me.*

Hosp. ad
An. 1557.
249. 250.

'Tis true, it's the *Sacramentarians* that make him speak after this manner: but, besides that they produce his letters which they pretend to have the originals of, one needs but read those his friends

friends have publish'd, to see that these discourses, which pass for his, agree perfectly with that disposition, which the implacable dissensions of the new *Reformation* had placed him in.

His Son-in-law, who relates the facts with a great deal of simplicity, affirms, he was so hated by the *Ubiquitarians*, that one time *Chytræus*, one of the most zealous of them, said, *They ought to make away with Melancthon: otherwise, they should find in him a perpetual obstacle to their designs.* He himself, in a letter he wrote to the *Electoꝛ Palatine* which *Peucer* makes mention of, says, *That he would no longer dispute against men whose cruelties he did experience.* And this was but a few months before his death. *How many times*, says *Peucer*, *and with how many sighs, hath he unfolded to me the reasons which binder'd him from discovering to the world the bottom of his sentiments?* But, what could constrain him in the *Court of Saxony*, where he then was, and in the midst of *Lutherans*, but the *Court* itself, and the violence of his companions?

How deplorable a state, never to meet with peace, or truth, as he understood it! He had left the *ancient Church*, which had on her side *succession* and all precedent ages. The *Lutheran Church* which he and *Luther* had founded, and which he believed the only refuge of truth, embraced *Ubiquity* which he abhorr'd. The *Sacramentarian Churches* which, next to the *Lutheran*, he believed the most pure, were full of other errors he could not endure, and which, in all his *Confessions of Faith*, he had rejected. He was respected, as appear'd, by the *Church of Wittemberg*, but the grievous restraints he lay under, and the measures he was bound to follow, prevented his speaking all he thought; and in this state he ended his miserable life in 1560.

Peuc. Hist. car. Ep. ad Pal. ap. Hosp. 1559. 260. Peuc. Aulicus.

XLI.
Melancthon's sad condition and his death.

XLII.

The
Zuingli-
ans con-
demn'd
by the
Luthe-
rans, and
the Catho-
licks ju-
stify'd by
this con-
duct.

M D LX.

Hosp.

1560. p.

269.

2. Def.

cont.

Westph.

Cal. Ep.

p. 324. ad

Ill. Germ.

Prin.

2. Defens.

cont. West.

bpusc. 286.

Hosp. An.

1560.

269. &

seq.

Hosp. An.

1560.

270. 271.

Illyricus and his companions triumph'd upon his death; *Ubiquity* was established almost throughout all *Lutheranism*, and the *Zuinglians* were condemn'd by a Synod held at *Jena* a Town in *Saxony*. Till then, *Melancthon* had restrain'd them from pronouncing such a sentence. From the time it passed, nothing in all writings against the *Zuinglians* was spoken of, but the authority of the *Church*, to which all were bound to yield without further dispute. The principal party of the new *Reformation*, the *Lutherans*, began to discover that nothing but *Church-authority* could curb mens minds and prevent divisions. And indeed we see, *Calvin* never ceases to reproach them for laying greater stress on the name of the *Church*, than the very *Papists* did, and for going counter to the principles established by *Luther*.

This was true, and the *Lutherans*, in their turn, were obliged to answer all the arguments which the *Protestant* party had opposed against the *Catholick Church* and her *Council*. They objected against the *Church*, that she made herself judge in her own cause, and that the *Pope* with his Bishops were all at once, the *Accused*, the *Accusers*, and the *Judges*. The *Sacramentarians* said as much of the *Lutherans*, by whom they stood condemn'd. The whole body of *Protestants* said to the *Church*, that their *Pastors* ought to take their place among the rest, in the *Council* going to be held, and to judge on questions of *Faith*; otherwise, it were prejudging against them without a hearing. The *Sacramentarians* made the same reproach to the *Lutherans*, and maintain'd to them, that by taking on themselves the authority to condemn them without calling their *Pastors* to the sitting, they began themselves to do that which they had called *Tyranny* in the *Church of Rome*. It appear'd manifestly, they were forced

forced at length to imitate the *Catholick Church*, which alone knew the true method of judging questions of Faith: nor did it appear less manifest, by the contradictions the *Lutherans* fell into upon following this method, that it did not belong to *Innovators*; nor could subsist but in a body, which had practised it from *Christianity's* first beginning.

It was resolved at this time to chuse, among all the editions of the *Ausburg-Confession*, that which should be deem'd authentick. 'Twas a surprising thing, that a *Confession* which regulated the Faith of all the *Protestants* in *Germany* and the whole *North*, and had given a name to the whole Party, should have been publish'd so many ways, and with such considerable differences, at *Wittenberg* and elsewhere, under *Luther* and *Melancthon's* inspection, without any care taken to adjust these *Variations*. At last, in 1561, thirty years after this *Confession* was made; in order to silence the reproaches, which were flung at *Protestants* of not having as yet a fix'd *Confession*; they met at *Naumburg* a City of *Thuringia*, and there pitch'd upon an edition; but in vain, on account that the other editions having been printed by publick authority, they never could suppress them, nor hinder some from following one, others another, as elsewhere mentioned.

What is still more, the assembly of *Naumburg*, in chusing one edition, declared expressly, it was not thence to be concluded, that they disapproved of all the rest, especially that, which had been made at *Wittenberg* in 1540, under *Luther's* and *Melancthon's* eyes, which besides had been publickly made use of in the *Lutheran schools*, and the *Conferences* with *Catholicks*.

XLIII.
Assembly
of the *Luth-*
therans at
Naumburg
to agree
about the
Confession
of *Aus-*
burg.

M D LXI.
Act. con-v.
Naum. ap.
Hosp.
1561.
280. &
seq.

S. L. III.

Nay, it cannot even be decided, which of these editions was preferr'd at *Naumburg*. It seems most probable to have been that, which is printed with the consent of almost all the Princes, and stands at the beginning of the book of *Concord*: but that even is not certain, since we
S. lib. 111. have shewn four editions of the *Supper-article*, equally own'd in the same book. Again, if the merit of good-works was cut off from the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, we have found it remaining in the *Apology*; and that even is a proof of what was originally in the *Confession*, since it is certain, that the *Apology* was made on no other account than to defend and explain it.

But, the dissentions of the *Protestants*, on the sense of the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, were so far from being terminated, at the assembly of *Naumburg*, that, on the contrary, *Frederick the Elector Palatine*, who was one of the members of it, believed, or would seem to believe, he found in this *Confession* the *Zuinglian* doctrine he newly had embraced: so that he adher'd to the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, and, not concerning himself about *Luther*, still remain'd a *Zuinglian*.
Hosp. An.
1581.
281.

XLIV.
 Rallery of
 the *Zuinglians*.
Hosp.
Ibid.

Thus, it seems, every thing was found in this *Confession*. The jeering and malicious *Zuinglians* call'd it *Pandora's box*, whence issued forth good and evil; *the apple of discord*, among the *Godesses*; *a shoe for every foot*; a vast wide cloak which *Satan* might hide himself in as well as *Jesus Christ*. These men had proverbs at their fingers ends, and dealt them out not sparingly to ridicule the different senses that each one found in the *Confession* of *Ausburg*. *Ubiquity* was the only thing, that could not be discover'd in it; and yet this *Ubiquity* became a *Dogma* among the *Lutherans* authentically grafted into the book of *Concord*.

Here

Here is what we find in that part of the book which bears this title, *An abridgment of articles controverted amongst the Divines of the Confession of Ausburg*. In the seventh chapter intitled, *Of the Lord's Supper: The right hand of God is every where, and Jesus Christ is truly and effectually united to it according to his humanity*. And still more expressly in the eighth chapter intitled, *Of the Person of Jesus Christ*, wherein is explain'd what that *Majesty* is, which in the *Scriptures* is attributed to the *Word-incarnate*: there we read these Words: *Jesus Christ not only as God, but also as man, knows all things, is able to do all things, is present to all creatures*. This is a strange doctrine. True it is, the holy Soul of *Jesus Christ* can do all it will in the *Church*, since it wills nothing but what the *Divinity* wills who governs it. True it is, this holy Soul knows all that regards the world present, since all therein hath a relation to mankind, whereof *Jesus Christ* is the Redeemer and Judge, and the Angels themselves, who are the Ministers of our Salvation, are subject to this power. True it is, *Jesus Christ* may render himself *present* where he pleases, even according to his *Humanity*, and with respect to his *Body and Blood*: but that the Soul of *Jesus Christ* knows, or can know, all that God knows, is attributing to a creature an infinite knowledge or wisdom, and equalling it to God himself. To make the human nature of *Jesus Christ* be necessarily wherever God is, is giving it an immensity not suitable to it, and manifestly abusing the *personal union*: for it ought to be said by the same reason, that *Jesus Christ*, as man, is in all times, which would be too open an extravagancy, but, nevertheless, would follow as naturally from the *personal union*, according to the *Lutherans*

XLV.
Ubiquity
establish'd.

Lib. Con-
cor. p.600.

reasoning, as the *presence* of *Jesus Christ's* humanity, in all places.

XLVI.
Another
declaration
about *Ubi-*
quity un-
der the
name of a
repetition
of the Con-
fession of
Ausburg.
Solida,
plana &c.
Conc. 628.
C. VII.
de Cæna.
p. 752. &
seq. VIII.
de pers.
Ch. p.
761. &
seq. 782.
& seq.

The same doctrine of *Ubiquity* may be seen, but with more perplexity and a wider compass of words, in a part of this same book which bears this title: *A solid, easy, and clear Repetition of some articles of the Ausburg-Confession, which have been disputed on for some time by some Divines of this Confession, and are here decided and accorded by the rule and anology of God's word, and the brief form of our Christian doctrine.* Let who will expect from such a title the clearness and brevity it promises him; for my part, I shall only observe two things on this word *Repetition*: the first, that altho' the doctrine of *Ubiquity*, which is here establish'd, be in no kind spoken of in the *Ausburg-Confession*, this is call'd, nevertheless, a *Repetition of some articles of the Ausburg-Confession.* They were afraid of making it appear, that they were obliged to tack some new doctrine to it, and all the novelties they had broach'd, were thus made to pass under the name of a *Repetition.* The second, that it hath never been the luck of *Protestants*, so much as once, to hit right the first time they explain'd their doctrine. They were always forced to come to *Repetitions*, which, when all was said, were not a whit clearer than what went before.

XLVII.
The de-
sign of the
Lutherans
in setting
up *Ubi-*
quity.

To conceal no doctrine of the *Lutherans* of any importance in the book of *Concord*, I hold myself obliged to say, that they do not place *Ubiquity* for the foundation of *Jesus Christ's Presence* in the *Supper*: it is certain on the contrary, that they make this *Presence* depend on the words of the *institution* only; but they set up this *Ubiquity* to stop the mouths of the *Sacramentarians*, who had ventur'd to say, that it was impossible for God to put *Jesus Christ's* Body in more than

one

one place at once; which appear'd to them, not only contrary to the article of God's Omnipotence, but also to the majesty of *Jesus Christ's* person.

We must now consider what the *Lutherans* say concerning the *Co-operation* of the will with grace: so weighty a question in our controversies, that we cannot refuse it our attention.

On this the *Lutherans* say two things, which will afford great light towards the finishing of our contests. I am going to propose them with as much order and clearness as I am able, and shall use my utmost endeavour to ease the readers mind, which might be wearied with the subtilty of these questions.

The first thing the *Lutherans* do in order to explain the *Co-operation* of the will with grace, is to distinguish the moment of conversion, from what ensues; and having taught, that man's *Co-operation* hath no place in the conversion of a sinner, they add, that this *Co-operation* ought only to be own'd in the good-works which we do afterwards.

I own, it's hard enough to comprehend what they would be at. For the *Co-operation*, which they exclude from the moment of conversion, is explain'd in certain places after such a manner, as seems to exclude nothing, but *The Co-operation, which is made by our own natural strength and of ourselves*, as *St. Paul* speaks. If it be so, we are agreed: but then we don't see, what need there was of distinguishing betwixt the moment of conversion, and all that follow'd after, since man neither operates, nor co-operates thro' the whole sequel any more, than in the moment of conversion, but by the grace of God.

Nothing therefore is more ridiculous, than to say with the *Lutherans*, that in the moment of conversion *man acts no more than a stone or clay*,

XLVIII.

Two memorable decisions of the *Lutherans*, on the co-operation of free-will.

XLIX.

Doctrine of the *Lutherans*, that we are without action in our conversion.

Con. p.

582. 673.
680. 681.
682.

P. 656.

662. 668.

674. 678.

680. &c.

seq.

Ibid. p.

662.

since it cannot be denied, but in the moment of conversion he begins to repent, to believe, to hope, to love by a true action, which a *log* or *stone* can no wise do.

And it's plain, that a man who repents, who believes, and loves perfectly, repents, believes, and loves with more force, but not in the main after another manner, than when he begins to repent, to believe, and to love: so that, in one and the other state, if the *Holy Ghost* operates, man co-operates with him, and subjects himself to his grace, by an act of the will.

L.
The confusion and contradiction of the Lutheran doctrine. *Ibid.* p. 680.

In effect, it seems, that the *Lutherans*, in concluding for the Co-operation of *Free-will*, would exclude that only, which is attributed to our own strength. *When Luther*, say they, *affirms that the will is purely passive, and in no wise acts in the conversion, his intention was not to say that no new motion was excited in our souls, and no new operation therein begun; but only to give to understand, that man can do nothing of himself, or by his own natural strength.*

This was setting out well: but what follows is not of a piece. For after saying, what is very true, that *man's conversion is an operation and a gift of the Holy Ghost, not in any of its parts only, but in the whole*, they conclude very preposterously, that *the Holy Ghost acts in our understanding, our heart, and our will, as in a subject that suffers, man abiding without action, and purely passive.*

This bad conclusion, which they draw from a true principle, makes it plain, they do not understand themselves; for, after all, what seems to be their meaning is, that man can do nothing of himself, and that grace prevents him in all, which, I say again, is uncontestable. But if it follow from this principle, that we remain with-
out

out action, this consequence reaches not only the moment of conversion, as the *Lutherans* pretend, but extends itself also, contrary to their notions, to the whole christian life, since we can no more preserve grace by our own strength, than acquire it, and whatever state we are in, it prevents us in every thing.

I know not then what the *Lutherans* mean when they say, it must not be believed, that *man converted, co-operates with the Holy Ghost, as two horses concur to draw a cart*; for that's a truth which none disputes with 'em, since one of these horses receives not the strength he has, from the other: whereas, we agree that man co-operating hath no strength, which is not given him by the *Holy Ghost*; and that nothing is more true than what the *Lutherans* say in the same place, *viz. When you co-operate with grace, it is not by your own natural powers, but by new powers which the Holy Ghost bestows upon you.*

LL
Conclusi-
on. If we
understand
one ano-
ther, there
remains
no dispute
about co-
operation.
Ibid. 674.

Ibid.

Thus, never so little right understanding between us clears this point of all shadow of difficulty. When the *Lutherans* teach, that our will does not act in the beginning of conversion, they only mean to say, that God excites good motions in us, which, tho' in us, are not from ourselves: the thing is unquestionable, and 'tis what is call'd *exciting grace*. If they'll say, that the will, when consenting to grace, and, by this means, beginning to convert itself, acts not by its own natural strength, this again is a point avowed by *Catholicks*. If they'll say, it acts not at all, but is purely passive, they do not understand themselves, and, contrary to their own principles, destroy all Action and Co-operation, not only in the beginning of conversion, but also thro' the whole course of a Christian life.

The

LII.
The objection of Libertines, and the difficulty of weak Christians concerning Co-operation.
Ibid. 669.

The second thing which the *Lutherans* teach, concerning the Co-operation of the will, deserves to be observed, because it discovers to us what a labyrinth man bewilders himself in when he forsakes his guide.

The book of *Concord* strives to clear the following objection raised by *Libertines* on the foundation of *Lutheran* doctrine. *If it be true, say they, as is taught amongst you, that the will of man hath no part in the conversion of sinners, but the Holy Ghost does all therein, I have no occasion either to read, or hear sermons, or frequent the Sacraments, but will wait till the Holy Ghost sends me his gifts.*

This same doctrine involved the faithful in great perplexities: for as they were taught, that as soon as ever the *Holy Ghost* acted in 'em, he alone wrought upon them in such a manner, that they had nothing at all to do; all those, who did not feel this ardent Faith within 'em, but rather nothing only misery and weakness, fell into these dismal thoughts, this dangerous doubtfulness; am I of the number of God's elect, and will God ever send me his *Holy Spirit*?

LIII.
The *Lutherans* solution grounded on eight propositions. The four first containing general principles.

In answer to these doubts of *Libertines* and weak Christians, who deferr'd their conversion, there was no saying to 'em that they resisted the *Holy Ghost*, whose grace interiously solicited them to yield themselves up to him; since they were told on the contrary, that in these first moments of a sinners conversion, the *Holy Ghost* did all himself, and a man acted no more than a *log of wood*.

Wherefore, they take another method to make sinners comprehend that 'tis their fault if they be not converted, and in order to that, they lay down these positions.

I. God wills, that all men be converted, and attain to eternal salvation. P. 669.
& seq.

II. For that end he hath commanded the Gospel to be preach'd in publick.

III. Preaching is the means, whereby God gathers together from amongst mankind, a Church, the duration whereof has no end.

IV. Preaching and bearing the Gospel are the instruments of the Holy Ghost, whereby he acts effectually in us, and converts us.

Having laid down these four general positions touching the efficacy of preaching, they apply them to the conversion of a sinner, by four other more particular ones. viz.

V. Before ever a man is regenerated, he may read, or hear the Gospel outwardly; and in these exterior things he hath, in some manner, his free-will to assist at Church-assemblies, and there to bear, or not to bear, the word of God. LIV.
Four other
proposi-
tions in or-
der to ap-
ply the
first.
Ibid.

VI. They add to this: That by this preaching, and by the attention given to it, God mollifies hearts; a little spark of Faith is inkindled in them, whereby the promises of Jesus Christ are embraced, and the Holy Ghost, who works these good sentiments, is by this means sent into the hearts of men.

VII. They observe, that, Altho' it be true that neither the preacher, nor the bearer, can do any thing of themselves, and that it's necessary for the Holy Ghost to act in us, to the end we may believe the word: yet, neither the preacher, nor the bearer ought to have any doubt of the Holy Ghost's being present by his grace, when the word is denounced in its purity according to God's commandment, and men give ear to, and meditate seriously thereon.

VIII. Lastly they conclude, that, In truth, this presence and these gifts of the Holy Ghost do

not always make themselves be felt, yet nevertheless it ought to be held for certain, that the word hearken'd to, is the instrument of the Holy Ghost, whereby he displays his efficacy in the hearts of men.

LV.
The resolution of the Lutherans grounded on the eight preceding propositions is downright Demipelagian.

By this way therefore the whole difficulty, according to them, is clearly solved, as well in regard to *Libertines*, as weak Christians. In regard to *Libertines*, because by the *first*, *second*, *third*, *fourth*, *sixth*, and *seventh* propositions, preaching, attentively given ear to, operates grace. Now, by the fifth it's laid down that man is *free* to hear preaching: he is therefore *free* to give to himself that, by which grace is given him, and so *Libertines* are content.

And for weak Christians, who, altho' attentive to the word, know not whether they be in grace, by reason they do not feel it: there is a remedy for their doubt from the eighth proposition, which teaches them, that it is not lawful to doubt but the grace of the *Holy Ghost*, tho' not felt, does accompany attention to the word: so that there remains no difficulty, according to the *Lutheran* principles, and neither the *Libertine* nor weak Christian have any thing to complain of; since, for their conversion, all, in short, depends on attention to the word, the which itself depends on the *Free-will*.

LVI.
A proof of the Lutherans Demipelagianism. *Ibid.* p. 671.

And that it may not be doubted what *attention* 'tis they speak of, I observe, they speak of *attention*, inasmuch as it precedes the grace of the *Holy Ghost*: they speak of *attention*, apply'd By the *free-will* to hear, or not to hear; they speak of *attention*, whereby one gives ear externally to the Gospel, whereby one assists at Church-assemblies where the virtue of the *Holy Ghost* displays itself, whereby an attentive ear is given to the word, which is his organ. 'Tis this *free-attention*.

attention to which the *Lutherans* annex divine grace; and they are excessive in every thing, since they will have it on one hand, when the *Holy Ghost* begins to move us, that we do not act at all; on the other, that this operation of the *Holy Ghost*, which converts us without any Co-operation on our side, is attracted necessarily by an act of our will, in which the *Holy Ghost* has no part, and wherein our *liberty* acts purely by its *natural* strength.

This is the current doctrine of the *Lutherans*, and the most learned of all of them, that have written in our days, has explain'd it by this comparison. He supposes all mankind plung'd into a deep lake, on the surface of which God has provided a salutary oil to swim, which by its virtue *alone* will deliver all these wretches, provided they will use the *natural* strength that is left them, to draw near to this oil, and swallow but some drops of it. This *oil*, is the word denounced by Preachers. Men of themselves may apply their attention to it: but as soon as they approach by their natural strength in order to listen thereto, of itself, without their further intermeddling, it diffuses a virtue in their hearts which heals them.

Thus all the vain scruples, which made the *Lutherans*, under pretext of honouring God, at first destroy *Free-will*, and afterwards grow fearful at least of allowing too much to it, end at last in giving to it so great power, that to its action, and the most *natural* exercise of it, all is annexed. This it is to walk without rule, the rule of *Tradition* once forsaken: they think to avoid the error of *Pelagians*; but, winding about, they return to it another way, and the compass they take, brings 'em back to *Demipelagianism*.

LVII.

Semipelagianism of the *Lutherans*. An example proposed by *Calixtus*. *Calixt. judic. n.* 32. 33. 34.

LVIII.

The confusion of the new sects passing from one extremity to the other.

This

LIX.
The Calvinists
come into
the Semi-
pelagianism
of the Lutherans.
Jur. Syst.
de l'Eg. l.
II. Ch.

III. p.
249. 253.

LX.
A difficulty
in the book
of Concord
concerning
the certainty
of salvation.
Con. p.
585.

LXI.
A solution
from the
doctrine of
Doctor
John-Andrew
Gerard.
Conf. Cath.
1679. l.
II. part.
III.
Art. 22.
c. 2.
Thest. 3. n.
2. 3. 4. &
Art. 23.
Cap. 5.

This *Demipelagianism* of the Lutherans, by little and little, spreads even to *Calvinism*, from the inclination that party hath of uniting itself with the Lutherans; in whose favour they have begun to say already, that *Demipelagianism* does not damn, that is, there's no harm in attributing to *Free-will*, the beginning of salvation.

I find, moreover, another thing in the book of *Concord*, which, were it not well understood, might cause a great confusion in the *Lutheran* doctrine. It's there said, that the faithful, in the midst of their weaknesses and combats, Ought by no means to doubt, either of the justice which is imputed to them by Faith, or of their eternal salvation. Whereby, it might seem, that Lutherans admit the certainty of their salvation, as well as Calvinists. But this would be too visible a contradiction in their doctrine, since, to believe the certainty of salvation in every one of the faithful, as the Calvinists believe, they ought also to believe, with them, the inamissibility of justice; which, as hath been seen, the *Lutheran* doctrine rejects expressly.

To adjust this contrariety, the *Lutheran* Doctors answer two things: one, that by the doubt of salvation; which they exclude from the faithful soul, they understand nothing but the anxiety; agitation; and trouble, which we exclude as well as they; the other, that the certainty they admit in all the just, is not an absolute certainty, but conditional, and supposes that the faithful soul does not depart from God by voluntary wickedness. The matter is thus explain'd by Doctor John-Andrew Gerard, who has publish'd lately a whole body of controversy; the meaning of which is, that, in the *Lutheran* doctrine, the believer may rest fully assured, that God on his side will never be wanting to him;

him, if, before hand, he be not wanting to God : *Thest. unic.*
 a thing not to be doubted of. To give the just *n. 6. p.*
 more certainty, is too evidently contradicting *1426. &*
 that doctrine which teaches us, that, be we never *1499.*
 so just, we may fall from justice, and lose the
 spirit of adoption : a point as little question'd by
Lutherans as Catholics.

Since the book of *Concord* has been compiled, LXII.
 I take it, the *Lutherans* in body have never made A brief
 any new decision of Faith. The parts this book account of
 is composed of, are from different authors and the book of
 of different dates ; and the *Lutherans* design was *Concord.*
 to give us in this collection, what is most authen-
 tick amongst them. The book came out in
 1579, after the famous assemblies held at *Torg*
 and *Berg* in 1576, and 1577. This last place,
 if I am not mistaken, was a Monastery near
Magdeburg. I shall not relate, in what manner,
 this book was subscribed in *Germany*, nor the
 tricks and force, which, as is reported, were put
 on those, who received it ; nor the oppositions of
 some *Princes* and *Cities*, who refused to sign it. *Hosp. Con-*
Hospinian has wrote a long history thereof which cord. dis-
 appears well enough grounded as to the chief of cors. imp.
 its facts. Let the *Lutherans*, who are concern'd 1607.
 therein, contradict it. The particular decisions,
 which relate to the *Supper* and *Ubiquity*, were
 made near the time of *Melancthon's* death, viz,
 about the years 1558, 59, 60, and 61.

These years are famous amongst us for the LXIII.
 beginnings of our disturbances in *France*. In The trou-
 1559, our pretended *Reformists* drew up a Con- bles in
 fession of Faith, which they presented to *Charles* *France*
 IX. In 1561, at the Conference of *Poissy*. This begin.
 was one of *Calvin's* productions, whom I have Confession
 often already spoken of, and the reflexions I must of Faith
 make on this *Confession of Faith*, oblige me to set drawn by
 forth more thoroughly, the conduct and doctrine *Calvin.*
 of this its Author. *Bez. Hist.*
 THE *Ecc. l. iv.*
 p. 520.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VARIATIONS
Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK IX.

In the Year 1561, CALVIN'S Doctrine and Character.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

Protestants begin to appear in France. Calvin is their head. His notions concerning Justification, wherein he reasons more consequently than the Lutherans; but grounding himself upon false principles, falls into more manifest difficulties. Three absurdities by him added to the Lutheran doctrine. The certainty of salvation, inamissibility of justice, Infant-justification independently of Baptism. Contradictions on this third point. In respect to the Eucharist, he equally condemns Luther and Zuinglius, and aims at a medium between both. He proves the necessity of admitting the Real Presence, beyond what he does in fact admit. Strong expressions for maintaining it. Other expressions which destroy it. The pre-eminence of Catholick doctrine. Those, who impugn it, are forced to speak our language and

and assume our principles. Three different Confessions of the Calvinists, to satisfy three different sorts of people, the Lutherans, the Zuin-
glians, and themselves. Calvin's pride and passion. His genius compared with that of Luther. The reason why he did not appear at the Conference of Poissy. There Beza presents the Protestants Confession of Faith; they tack to it a new and long explication of their doctrine about the Eucharist. The Catholicks express themselves intelligibly, and in few words. What happen'd with relation to the Ausburg-Confession. Calvin's sentiments.



A L V I N's genius, possibly, might not have been so well adapted as *Luther*'s was, to tumultuate people and inflame their minds: but after these commotions were once set on foot, he raised himself

I.
Calvin's
genius.
He subtilizes more
than *Luther*:

in many countries, in *France* especially, above even *Luther* himself, and became the head of a party, which, if at all, but scarce yields to that of *Luther*.

By the penetration of his wit and the hardiness of his decisions, he refined upon, and outwent, all his contemporary builders of new Churches, and new-reform'd the but new Reformation.

The two points they laid the main stress upon, were *Justification* and the *Eucharist*.

As for *Justification*, *Calvin* looking upon it as the common foundation of *Protestancy*, adhered to it at least equally with *Luther*, but grafted on it three important articles.

In the first place, that certainty, which *Luther* own'd for *Justification* only, was by *Calvin* extended to eternal salvation; that is to say,

II.
Two capital
points of
the Reformation.
Calvin's
refinements on
both of
them.

III.
Three
things ad-

ded by
Calvin to
imputed
justice.
First the
certainty
of salva-
tion.

Sup. l.

111. n.

38.

Instit. l. 3.

2. n. 16.

&c.

24. c.

Antid.

Con. Trid.

in Sess. vi.

cap. 13.

14. opusc.

p. 185.

IV.

A memo-
rable Con-
fession of
Faith

made by
Frederick
III. Elec-
tor Pala-
tine.

Synt. Gen.

2. part. p.

149. 156.

V.

The se-
cond Dog-
ma by
Calvin

whereas *Luther* required no more of the faithful, than to believe with an infallible certainty that they were justified; *Calvin*, besides this certainty of justification, required the like of their eternal predestination: insomuch that a perfect Calvinist can no more doubt of his being saved, than a perfect Lutheran of his being justified.

So that, were a Calvinist to make his particular Confession of Faith, he would put in this article, *I am assured of my salvation*. We have an example of it. In the Collection of Geneva stands the Confession of Prince Frederick III. Count Palatine, and Elector of the Empire. This Prince explaining his Creed, after setting forth how he believes in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, when he comes to explain how he believes the Catholick Church, says, *That he believes that God never ceases gathering it together, by his word and Holy Ghost out of the Mass of all mankind, and that he believes he is of that number, and ever shall be a living member of it*. He adds, he believes, *That God being appeased by the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, will not remember any of his sins, nor all the wickedness, with which I shall*, says he, *go on combating thro' the whole course of my life; but that he will gratuitously give me the justice of Jesus Christ, insomuch that, I HAVE NO REASON TO APPREHEND THE JUDGMENTS OF GOD*. Lastly, *I know most certainly*, continues he, *that I shall be saved, and shall appear with a chearful countenance before the tribunal of Jesus Christ*. There spoke a true Calvinist, and these are the true sentiments inspired by Calvin's doctrine, which this Prince had embraced.

Thence follow'd a second Dogma, that, whereas *Luther* allow'd, that a justified believer might fall from grace, as we have observed in the *Ausburg*.

burg-Confession; Calvin maintains on the contrary, that Grace once received, can never be lost: so that, whoever is justified and receives the *Holy Ghost*, is justified, and receives the *Holy Ghost* for ever. For which reason, the afore said *Palatine* placed amongst the articles of his Faith, that *he was a living and perpetual member of the Church*. This is the *Dogma* call'd the *Inamissibility* of justice; namely, that doctrine by which it's believed, that justice once received never can be lost. This word hath such a sanction from its universal use on this subject, that to avoid multiplying words, we must accustom our ears to it.

There was also a third *Dogma*, which Calvin establish'd as a corollary from *imputed justice*, viz. that Baptism could not be necessary to salvation, as the *Lutherans* maintain.

Calvin was of opinion, that the *Lutherans* could not reject these tenets, without destroying their own principles. They require of the believer to be absolutely assured of his justification, as soon as he asks it, and to trust in the divine goodness, because, according to them, neither his prayer nor trust can admit of the least doubt. Now, prayer and trust regard salvation no less, than justification and forgiveness of sins; for we pray for our salvation, and hope to obtain it as much, as we pray for the forgiveness of sins, and hope to obtain it: therefore we are as much assured of the one, as of the other.

If then, we believe, we cannot miss of salvation, we must also believe, we cannot fall from Grace, and must reject the *Lutherans*, who teach the contrary.

Again, if we are justified by *Faith alone*, Baptism is neither necessary in fact, or desire.

added to imputed justice, viz. That it never can be lost.

VI.
The third Dogma of Calvin: viz. That Baptism is not necessary to salvation.

VII.
Calvin's reasons drawn from *Luther's* principles; and first with respect to the certainty of salvation.

VIII.
With respect to the inamissibility of justice.

IX.
Against the necessity

sity of
Baptism.

For which reason, *Calvin* will not admit, that it works in us forgiveness of sins, or infusion of Grace, but is a *seal* only and token that we have received them.

X.

The consequence from this doctrine, that the children of the faithful are born in Grace.

It is certain; whosoever says these things, ought also to say, that infants enjoy Grace independently of *Baptism*. Nor did *Calvin* make any difficulty of owning it. This made him broach that novelty, *viz.* that the children of the faithful were born in the *Covenant*, that is, in that sanctity, which *Baptism* did no more than seal in them: an unheard of doctrine in the Church, but necessary for *Calvin* in order to support his principles.

XI.

A passage by which *Calvin* upholds this new Dogma. *Instit.* iv. xv. n. 22. xvi. 3. &c. g. &c. *Gen.* xvii. 7. *Dom.* 50.

The foundation of this doctrine, according to him, is in that promise made to *Abraham*, I will be *thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee*. *Calvin* maintain'd that the *new* alliance, no less efficacious than the *old*, ought, for this reason, to pass like that from Father to Son, and be transmitted the same way: whence he concluded that the substance of *Baptism*, that is, its grace and covenant, *appertaining to Infants, the sign of it could not be refused them*; to wit, the *Sacrament of Baptism*; a doctrine by him held so certain, that he inserted it into his *Catechism* in the same terms I have now worded it, and in full as strong, into the *form of administering Baptism*.

XII.

Why *Calvin* is look'd upon as the author of the three precedent Dogmata.

When I name *Calvin* as the author of these three tenets, I do not mean to say, he was the first that ever taught them; for the *Anabaptists*, and others too, had maintain'd them before, either in the whole, or in part: but I only say, he gave them a new turn, and shew'd better than any one else, the conformity they have with *imputed justice*.

XIII.

Supposing these prin-

For my part, I can't help thinking, that in these three articles, *Calvin* argued more consequently

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quently than *Luther*: but withal, run himself into greater difficulties, as must necessarily happen to those, who reason on false principles.

If, in *Luther's* doctrine, a great difficulty result from man's being *assured* of his *Justification*, there is a much greater one, and which exposes human weakness to a more dangerous temptation, in being assured of his Salvation.

Nay, by saying, the *Holy Ghost* and Justice can no more be lost than Faith, you oblige the faithful once justified, and persuaded of their justification, to believe, that no crime, be it ever so great, can cause them to fall from this Grace.

In fact, *Calvin* maintain'd, that, *upon losing the fear of God, Faith, which justifies us, is not lost*. The terms he made use of, were indeed extraordinary. For he said, Faith *was overwhelmed, buried, smother'd*; that the possession of it was lost, that is to say, the feeling and knowledge of it. But after all this he added, *it was not extinct*.

An uncommon subtilty is requisite, to reconcile all these words of *Calvin*: but the truth is, willing as he was to maintain his tenet, he could not but allow something to that horror in man, of owning *justifying Faith* in a soul, that has lost the fear of God, and fallen into the worst of crimes.

If to these three points you join also that doctrine which teaches, that the children of the faithful bring Grace with them into the world at their birth; what a horror must this raise! it following necessarily from thence, that the whole posterity of every true believer is predestinated?

The demonstration is obvious, according to *Calvin's* principles. Whosoever is born of a believer, is born in the *Covenant*, and consequently,

principles, *Calvin* reason'd better than *Luther*: but went further astray.

XIV. Difficulties attending the certainty of salvation.

XV. Difficulties attending *Calvin's* inamissibility of justice.

Ant. Conc. Trid. in Sess. 6. c. 16. opusc. p. 288.

XVI. Difficulty of that doctrine which teaches that children are born in Grace.

in Grace: whosoever has once had Grace, can never lose it: if he hath it not only for himself but also necessarily transmits it to his whole posterity, we have then grace extended to infinite generations. If so much as one true believer be found in a whole lineage, all the descendents of this person are predestinated. If so much as one be found to die a reprobate, it must be concluded that all his ancestors were damn'd.

XVII.

Luther not less to be condemn'd for establishing these principles, than Calvin for drawing these consequences

XVIII.

Whether these three Dogmata are to be found in the Confessions of Faith.

Conf. de Fr. Art.

18. 19.

20. 21

22.

Cat. Dim.

18. 19.

20.

Cat. Dim.

50. *Forme.*

du Bapt.

5. n. 11.

XIX.

Two Dogmata of the Calvinists

But, the horrid consequences of *Calvin's* doctrine, condemn no less the *Lutherans* than the *Calvinists*: and if these last are not to be excused for running themselves into such dreadful straits; the former are not less blame-worthy, for laying down the principles, whence such consequences so clearly follow.

Notwithstanding that the *Calvinists* have embraced these three *Dogmata*, as a ground-work of the *Reformation*, the respect they have for the *Lutherans*, if I am not mistaken, hath been the cause, that, in their *Confessions of Faith*, they rather insinuated than expressly establish'd the two first tenets, namely, the *certainty* of salvation, and the *inamissibility* of justice. An authentick declaration of them was no where made, properly speaking, till in the Synod of *Dort*: it shall appear in its own place. As for the *Dogma* which owns, in the children of the faithful, Grace *inseparable* from their birth, we find it in the *Catechism* which I have quoted verbatim, and in the form of administering Baptism.

Howsoever, I will not aver, that *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* are very steadfast in this last tenet. For altho' they say on one hand, that the children of the faithful are born in the *Covenant*; and the seal of Grace, which is Baptism, is not due to them but on account that the thing itself, namely, Grace and Regeneration, is acquired to them

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them by their being happily born of faithful Parents; it appears on the other hand, they will not allow, that the children of the faithful are always regenerated when they receive Baptism, and this for two reasons. The first, because, according to their maxims, the seal of Baptism hath not its effect with regard to all those who receive it, but only with regard to the *predestinated*. The second, because the seal of Baptism works not always a present effect, even with regard to the predestinated, since such a person may have been baptiz'd in his infancy, who was not regenerated till in years.

These two doctrinal points are taught by *Calvin* in several places, but particularly in the *agreement* he made in 1554, between the Church of *Geneva* and that of *Zurick*. This agreement contains the doctrine of both these Churches; and being received by both, it has the full authority of a *Confession of Faith*; insomuch that the two aforesaid points of doctrine being there expressly taught, they may be reckon'd among the articles of Faith of the *Calvinian* Church.

It is then plain, this Church teaches two things that are contradictory. The first, that the children of the faithful are certainly born in the *Covenant* and in Grace, which implies a necessary obligation of giving them Baptism: the second, that it is not certain, they are born in the *Covenant* or in Grace, since no one knows whether he be of the number of the *predestinated*.

There is besides a great inconsistency in saying, on one side, that Baptism, of itself, is a certain sign of Grace, and on the other, that many of those who receive it without putting any obstacle on their part to the Grace it offers them (as in the case of infants) yet receive from it no effect. But leaving to *Calvinists* the trouble of re-

relating to children, little conformable to their principles.

XX.
Agreement with those of *Geneva*, 1554.
Con. Tigur. & Genev.
Art. 17.
20. *opuscul.*
Cal. p.

754.
120 *sp. An*
1554.

XXI.
Contradictions in the *Calvinist* doctrine.

XXII.
Another contradiction.

conciling their own jarring tenets, I rest satisfied with relating what I find in their *Confessions of Faith*.

XXIII. *Calvin's* refinement on the other point of Reformation; which is that of the Eucharist.

XXIV. *Calvin's* treatise in order to shew that after fifteen years disputing, the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* had not understood one another.

Traët. de Cœn. Dom. opusc. p. 1.

XXV. *Calvin*, already known by his institutions, makes himself more considerable by his treatise on the Supper.

Hitherto *Calvin* soar'd above the *Lutherans*, but fell withal much lower than they had done. On the point of the *Eucharist*, he not only raised himself above them, but also above the *Zuinglians*, and, by the same sentence, condemn'd both parties, which, for so long a time, had divided the whole *Reformation*.

They had disputed for fifteen years successively on the article of the Real Presence without ever being able to agree, whatever could be done to reconcile them; when *Calvin*, then but young, made himself Umpire, and decided, they had not understood each other, and that the *heads* of both parties were in the wrong; *Luther*, for too much pressing the corporeal Presence; *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, for not having sufficiently expressed that the *thing* itself, *i. e.* the *Body* and *Blood*, were join'd to the *sign*; a certain Presence of *Jesus Christ* in the *Supper*, which they had not sufficiently comprehended, being to be acknowledged.

This work of *Calvin's* was printed in *French* in 1540, and afterwards turn'd into *Latin* by the author himself. He had already gain'd a great repute by his *institutions*, which he publish'd, for the first time, in 1534, and which after that he made frequent editions of, with considerable additions, being extremely nice in pleasing himself, as he says in his *prefaces*. But mens eyes were more turn'd upon him, when they saw one so little advanced in age, undertake to condemn the *chiefs* of both parties of the *Reformation*, and the whole world was big with expectation of the novelty he was going to produce.

This

This is indeed one of the most memorable points of the new *reform*, and deserves the more to be consider'd, the more it seems forgotten by the *Calvinists* now-a-days, altho' it makes one of the most essential parts of their *Confession of Faith*.

If *Calvin* had only said, the *signs* in the *Eucharist* are not empty, or, the union we there have with *Jesus Christ*, is effective and real, and not imaginary, this would be nothing: we have seen that *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, whom *Calvin* was not quite satisfied with, had said altogether as much as that in their writings.

The graces we receive by the *Eucharist*, and the merits of *Jesus Christ* applied to us therein, suffice to make us understand, that, in this *Sacrament*, the *signs* are not empty, and none ever hath denied, but the fruit we gather from it, is very real.

The difficulty then lay, not in discovering to us how Grace, united to the *Sacrament*, became an efficacious sign and full of virtue, but in shewing, how the *Body* and *Blood* were effectually communicated to us in this *Sacrament*: for this was the thing peculiar to this *Sacrament*, and what all Christians were accusom'd to look for in it, by virtue of the words of the institution.

To say that, together with the figure, the virtue and merit of *Jesus Christ* was in it received by *Faith*, was what had been so fully said by *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, that *Calvin* could have found nothing wanting in their doctrine, had he not requir'd something more than this.

Bucer, whom he acknowledged, in some measure, for his master, by confessing, as he had done at the *Wittemberg-agreement*, a Substantial Presence common to all communicants worthy

XXVI.
Calvin's
doctrine
about the
Eucharist
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XXVII.
Calvin is
not con-
tent with
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a sign in
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XXVIII.
Not even
an effica-
cious sign.

XXIX.
Nor the
virtue and
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Jesus
Christ.

XXX.
Calvin's
doctrine
partakes
something
and of that of

Bucer and the articles of Wittemberg.

Ep. ad Il-lust. Princ. Germ. p. 324.

XXXI.
The state of the question resumed. The sentiments of the Catholics on these words, *This is my Body.*

and unworthy, thereby established a Real Presence independent on Faith, and had endeavour'd to come up to the idea of Reality, with which the words of our Saviour naturally fill the mind. But *Calvin* thought he said too much; and altho' he approved of producing to the *Lutherans* the articles of *Wittemberg*, in order to shew, that the quarrel relating to the *Eucharist*, was concluded by them; yet he did not in his heart abide by this decision. Wherefore, he borrowed something from *Bucer* and this agreement, and modelling it after his own fashion, endeavour'd to strike out a new *System* peculiar to himself.

To understand the bottom of it, 'twill be necessary, to call back in few words the state of the question and not fear repeating something of what has been already said on this subject.

The matter in question was to know the sense of these words, *This is my Body, this is my Blood.*

Catholicks maintain'd, the design of our Saviour was thereby to give us his *Body* and *Blood* to eat, as, in the old law, the *flesh* of the victims, sacrificed for the people, was given to them.

As this *manducation* was to the ancients a sign that the victim was theirs, and that they partook of the sacrifice; so, the *Body* and *Blood* of our Saviour sacrificed for us, being given us to take by the mouth with the *Sacrament*, are to us a *sign* that they are ours, and that it was for us the Son of God made a sacrifice of them on the Cross.

To the end that this pledge of the love of *Jesus Christ* might be certain and efficacious, it was requisite, we should not only have the merits, the spirit, and the virtue, but also the proper substance of the sacrific'd victim, and that it should

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should be as truly given us to eat, as the flesh of the victims had been given in the *Jewish* dispensation.

Thus were these words understood, *This is my Body given for you, this is my Blood shed for you*, viz. This is as *truly* my Body, as it is *true*, this Body was given for you, and as *truly* my Blood, as it is *true*, this *Blood* was shed for you.

Matt.
xxvi. 26.
28.
Luke xxii.
29.
1 Cor. xi.
24.

By the same reason it was understood, that the *substance* of this Flesh and Blood was given to us no where but in the *Eucharist*, since *Jesus Christ* said no where else, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*.

Now, we receive *Jesus Christ* many ways thro' the whole course of our lives, by his Grace, by his Illuminations, by his Holy Spirit, by his omnipotent Virtue; but this singular manner of receiving him in the *proper* and *true* substance of his *Body* and *Blood*, was peculiar to the *Eucharist*.

Thus was the *Eucharist* look'd upon as a new miracle, which confirm'd to us all the others which God had wrought for our salvation. A human body, whole and entire, given in so many places, to so many people, under the species of Bread, was enough to startle every mind, and we have already seen, that the *Fathers* made use of the most surprising effects of the divine Omnipotence, to explain this by.

Little would have avail'd so great a miracle wrought in our behalf, had not God afforded us the means of reaping advantage from it, and this we could not hope for, but by *Faith*.

This Mystery was, nevertheless, like all the rest, independent of Faith. Believe or not believe it, *Jesus Christ* took flesh, *Jesus Christ* died, and offer'd himself a sacrifice for us; and by the same reason, whether we believe it or no, *Jesus Christ* does give us the *substance* of his Body to be

XXXII.

What
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The senti-
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be eaten in the *Eucharist*; for it was requisite he should by that confirm to us that it was for us he took it, and for us he sacrificed it: the tokens of the divine love, in themselves, are independent of our *Faith*; our *Faith* is only requisite to receive the benefit of them.

At the same time that we receive this precious earnest, certifying to us that *Jesus Christ* sacrificed is wholly ours, we must apply our minds to this inestimable testimony of the divine love. And as the *ancients*, eating the sacrificed victim, were to eat it *as sacrificed*, and remember the oblation, which had been made to God, in sacrifice for them; those likewise, who, at the holy Table, receive the *substance* of the Body and Blood of the *Lamb* immaculate, must receive it, as *sacrificed*, and call to mind that the Son of God had made a sacrifice of it to his Father, for the salvation, not only of the whole world in general, but also of each one of the faithful, in particular.

Luke xxii.

19.

1 Cor. xi.

24. 25.

1 Cor. xi.

26.

For which reason, when he said; *This is my Body, this is my Blood*, he subjoin'd immediately after, *This do in remembrance of me*; that is, as the sequel makes appear, in remembrance of me *sacrificed* for you, and of that immense charity, which made me lay down my life for your redemption, conformably to that saying of St. Paul, *Ye shall shew the Lord's death until he come*.

We must therefore be very careful, not to receive only the sacred Body of our Saviour into our bodies: we must also unite ourselves to it in mind, and remember that he gives us his Body to the end that we may have a certain pledge, that this sacred victim is wholly ours. But whilst we stir up this pious reflexion in our minds, we ought to enter into the sentiments of an affectionate acknowledgment to our Saviour, and this

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is the only means of perfectly enjoying this inestimable pledge of our salvation.

And, altho' the actual reception of this Body and Blood be not allow'd us but in certain moments, namely, in Communion; our thankfulness is not confined to so short a time, and the having received this sacred pledge at certain moments, is enough to perpetuate the spiritual enjoyment of so great a Good thro' all the moments of our lives.

XXXIII.
In what manner the possessing of Christ's body is spiritual and permanent.

For tho' the actual reception of the Body and Blood be but momentary, yet, the right we have to receive it, is perpetual; like to that sacred right one hath over another by the bond of marriage.

Thus, the mind and body unite themselves to enjoy their Saviour and the adorable substance of his Body and Blood; but, as the union of bodies is the foundation, that of minds is the perfection of so great a work.

Whoever therefore does not unite himself in mind to *Jesus Christ*, whose sacred Body he receives, enjoys not, as he ought, so great a gift: like to those brutal and treacherous spouses, who unite bodies without uniting hearts.

Jesus Christ seeks in us that love, with which he is replenish'd, at his approach. When he finds it not, the union of bodies is not less real: but, instead of being fruitful, it is odious and affrontive to the Son of God. Those, who draw near to his Body without this lively Faith, are *the crowd that press him*; those that have this Faith, are the sick woman *that touches him*.

XXXIV.
The body and mind must be united to Jesus Christ.

Mark. v. 30. 31.

All touch him rigorously speaking; but those, who touch him without Faith, press and importune him: those, who not content with touching him, look upon this touch of his flesh as an earnest of that virtue which goes out of him

Luke, viii. 45. 46.

him unto those who love him, touch him truly, because they touch alike his heart and body.

XXXIV. This it is which makes the difference between those who communicate *discerning*, or not *discerning*, the Body of the Lord; receiving with the Body and Blood the grace which accompanies them naturally, or, rendering themselves guilty of the sacrilegious attempt to prophane them. By this means, *Jesus Christ* exercises on all that all-mightiness given to him in *Heaven* and on *Earth*, applying himself to some, as a *Saviour*, to others, as a rigorous *Judge*.

XXXV.

The precise state of the question laid down from the precedent doctrine.

This is what was to be look'd back into, concerning the mystery of the *Eucharist*, in order to understand what I have now to say; and it's plain, the state of the question is to know on one hand, whether the gift, which *Jesus Christ* bestows upon us in the *Eucharist*, of his Body and Blood, be a mystery, like the rest, *independent* of Faith in its substance, and only requiring Faith to profit by it; or, whether the whole mystery consist in the union we have with *Jesus Christ* by *Faith alone*, without any thing else intervening, on his part, but spiritual promises figured by the *Sacrament*, and announced by the Word. By the first of these sentiments, the *Real* and *Substantial* Presence is establish'd; by the second, it is deny'd, and *Jesus Christ* is no wise united to us, except in *figure* in the *Sacrament*, and in spirit by Faith.

XXXVI.

Calvin seeks to reconcile Luther and Zuinglius.

We have seen that *Luther*, whatever design he might have to reject the *Substantial* Presence, had from the words of our Saviour so strong an impression of it, that he never could give it up. We have seen, that *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, disheartned at the impenetrable loftiness of a mystery so far raised above our senses, could never enter into it. *Calvin*, urged on one side with the

the impresson of *Reality*, and on the other, with the difficulties which thwart our senses, seeks a middle way, difficult enough to make agree in all its parts.

In the first place, he admits that we *really* partake of the *true* Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and this he express'd with such energy, that the *Lutherans* almost believed, he sided with them: for he repeats a hundred and a hundred times, that *Truth must be given us together with the signs; that, UNDER THESE SIGNS, we truly receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; that the Flesh of Jesus Christ is DISTRIBUTED in the Sacrament; that it penetrates us; that we are partakers, not only of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, but also of his Flesh; that we have the proper substance and are made partakers of it; that Jesus Christ unites himself to us whole and entire, and for that end, unites himself to us in Body and Mind; that we must not doubt but we receive his proper Body; and if there be one, in the world, that confesses this truth sincerely, he is the man.*

He not only acknowledges, in the Supper, *The virtue of the Body and Blood, but will have the substance join'd to it; and declares, when he speaks of the manner of receiving Jesus Christ in the Supper, he means not to speak of the part you there have In his merits, in his virtue, in his efficacy, in the fruit of his death, in his power. Calvin rejects all these ideas, and complains of the Lutherans, who, says he, reproaching him that he gave nothing to the faithful but a share in the merits of Jesus Christ, darken the Communion which he requires we should have with him. He carries his thought so far, that he excludes, even as insufficient all the union that may be had with Jesus Christ, not only by the imagination, but also by the thought, or by*

XXXVII.

How strongly Calvin speaks of the Reality.

Instit. lib.

IV. c. 17.

n. 17. &c.

Diluc.

Expof.

Adm. cont.

Westp. int.

opusc. &c.

XXXVIII

One must be united to the Body of Jesus Christ more than by virtue and thought.

Tr. de

Cæn. Do-

mini.

1540. Int.

opusc. Inst.

iv. xvi.

18. &c.

Diluc.

Exp. opusc.

846.

Ibid.

Brev.

Admon. de

Cænâ

Domini.

int. Ep. p.

594.

XXXIX.

A new ef-

fect of

Faith, ac-

cording

to Calvin.

the sole apprehension of the mind. *We are,* says he, *united to Jesus Christ, not by fancy and imagination, nor by thought or the sole apprehension of the mind, but really, and in effect, by a true and substantial union.*

XXXIX.

A new ef-

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Yet he still says, we are united to him *only* by Faith, which but little agrees with his other expressions: but the thing is, from a notion as odd as it is new, he will not have that which is united to us by Faith, be united to us barely by thought; as if Faith were any thing else than a thought or an act of our minds, *divine* indeed and *supernatural*, which the heavenly Father alone can inspire, but still a thought.

XL.

Calvin

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stance.

Dim. 51.

52. 53.

Confess.

xxxvi.

III XXX.

There is no knowing what all these expressions of *Calvin* mean, if they do not signify that the *Flesh of Jesus Christ* is in us, not only by its virtue, but in its self, and by its *proper substance*; nor are these strong expressions only to be found in *Calvin's* books, but also in his *Catechisms*, and the *Confession of Faith* which he gave to his disciples; which shews, how *literally* they are to be understood.

XLI.

He will

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2. Def.

cont.

Westph. p.

779.

XLII.

If we un-

Zuinglius and *Oecolampadius* had often objected to *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* that we received the *Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*, as the ancient *Hebrews* received them in the desert: whence it follow'd, that we receive them not in substance, their substance not existing then, but in spirit only. But *Calvin* cannot away with this reasoning, and owning, that our *Fathers* received *Jesus Christ* in the desert, he maintains, they did not receive him like us, since we now have the *substance of his Flesh*, and our *manducation is substantial*, which that of the *ancients* could not be.

Secondly, he teaches that this *Body*, once offer'd for us, *Is given to us in the Supper to ascertain*

ascertain to us, that we have part in his sacrifice, and in the reconciliation it brings with it: which, naturally speaking, is as much as to say, we must distinguish what is on God's side, from what is on ours, and that it is not our Faith, which renders *Jesus Christ* present to us in the *Eucharist*; but that *Jesus Christ*, otherwise present as a sacred pledge of divine love, serves as a support to our Faith. For as when we say, the Son of God made himself man to certify to us that he loved our nature; we own his *Incarnation* as independent of our Faith, and withal, as a means given us whereby to support it: in like manner, to teach that *Jesus Christ* gives us his Body and Blood in this Mystery, to ascertain to us that we have part in the sacrifice he made of them, in truth is owning that the Body and Blood are given us, not because we believe, but to the end that our Faith, being excited by so great a present, may rest more assured of the divine love, which by such an earnest we are *made certain* of.

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Cat. Dim.
52.

Hereby then it appears manifestly, that the gift of the Body and Blood is *independent* of Faith in the *Sacrament*; and Calvin's doctrine leads us to this conclusion by another way.

XLIII.

For he says in the third place, and repeats it frequently, that *the holy Supper is composed of two things*, or, *that there are two things in this Sacrament, the material Bread and the Wine which we behold with our eyes; and Jesus Christ, where-with our souls are nourished interiorly.*

According
to Cal-
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the true
Body must
be in the
Sakra-
ment.

We have seen these words in the *Wittenberg-agreement*. *Luther* and the *Lutherans* had taken them from a famous passage of *St. Irenæus*, wherein it's said, that the *Eucharist is composed of a celestial and a terrestrial thing*; namely, as they explain'd it, as well of the *Substance* of Bread, as of that of the Body. This explanation of

Inst. lib.
iv. c. 17.
n. 11. 14.
Catech.
Dim. 53.
Sup. lib.
iv. n. 23.
Lib. iv.
c. 34.

theirs was disputed by the *Catholicks*, and without entering here into this controversy against the *Lutherans*, if to them this explanation seem'd contrary to *Catholick Transubstantiation*, it manifestly overthrew the *Zuinglian figure*, and at least, establish'd *Luther's Consubstantiation*: for, to say, we have in the Sacrament, namely, in the sign itself, the thing *terrestrial* together with the *celestial*, that is, according to the *Lutherans* sense, the material Bread with the very Body of *Jesus Christ*, is manifestly placing both substances together; but to say, that the *Sacrament* is composed of *Bread*, which we see before our eyes, and of *Jesus Christ* who is in the highest heavens at the right hand of his Father, would be an expression completely extravagant. They must therefore say, that both substances are indeed in the *Sacrament*, and that the figure is there join'd with the thing itself.

XLIV.
Another
expression
of *Cal-*
vin's, that
the Body
is under
the sign of
the Bread,
as the
Holy Ghost
under that
of the
Dove.
Infl. iv.
c. 17. n.
16. 17.
Diluc.
Exp. sanctæ
doctr. opusc.
p. 839.
lb. p. 844.

This way also points that expression which we find in *Calvin*, *that under the sign of the Bread we take the Body, and under the sign of the Wine we take the Blood distinctly one from the other, to the end, we may enjoy Jesus Christ whole and entire.* And the thing here most remarkable is, that *Calvin* says, the Body of *Jesus Christ* is under the Bread, *as the Holy Ghost is under the Dove*; which necessarily imports a Substantial Presence, no-body doubting but the *Holy Ghost* was substantially present under the form of the Dove, as, in a particular manner, God ever was when he appear'd under some figure.

The words he makes use of are precise: *We do not pretend*, says he, *that a symbolical Body is received: as it was not a symbolical Spirit, which appear'd in the Baptism of our Lord: the Holy Ghost was then truly and substantially present; but he render'd himself present by a visible symbol, and*

was

was seen in the Baptism of Jesus Christ, because he truly appear'd under the symbol and under the external form of the Dove.

If the Body of *Jesus Christ* is as present to us under the Bread, as the *Holy Ghost* was present under the form of a *Dove*, I know not what more can be desired for a *Real* and *Substantial* Presence. And *Calvin* says all these things in a work, wherein he purposed to explain more clearly than ever, how *Jesus Christ* is received, since he says them after having long disputed with the *Lutherans* on this subject, in a book, which bears this title, *A clear exposition of the manner how we partake of the Body of our Lord.*

In this same book he says, *Jesus Christ* is present in the *Sacrament*, as *God* was present in the *Ark*, where, says he, he render'd himself truly present; and not only in figure, but in his proper substance.

Thus, when this *Mystery* is very clearly and very plainly to be spoken of, expressions are naturally employ'd, which lead the mind to the *Real Presence*.

And it is for this reason, in the fourth place, that *Calvin* says here and every where else, that he disputes not of the thing, but only of the manner, *I dispute not*, says he, *about the Presence, nor the substantial manducation, but, about the manner both of the one and the other.* He repeats a hundred times over, he agrees to the thing and only questions, which way it is accomplish'd. All his disciples speak the same language, and even to this day, our *reform'd* are angry when we tell them, the Body of *Jesus Christ*, according to their Faith, is not as substantially with them, as, according to ours, it is with us: which shews, that it is a dictate of the spirit of Christianity, to make *Jesus Christ*

XLV.
Another expression of *Calvin's*, which makes *Jesus Christ* present under the Bread, as *God* was in the *Ark*.
Ibid.

XLVI.
Calvin says he only disputes the manner, but admits the thing as much as we.
Ib. & Opusc. p. 777. & seq. 839. 844. as &c.

as present in the *Eucharist* as possible, and that his words naturally guide us to what is most *substantial*.

XLVII.

Calvin
admits an
ineffable
and mira-
culous
Presence of
the Body.
Inst. iv.
17. 32.

Thence proceeds, fifthly, that *Calvin* admits of a Presence that is wholly *miraculous* and *divine*. He is not like the *Swiss*, who are angry when you speak to them of a miracle in the *Supper*: on the contrary, he is vexed when you tell him there is none. He is continually repeating, that the mystery of the *Eucharist* surpasses the senses; that it's an incomprehensible work of the divine power, a secret impenetrable to the mind of man; that words are wanting to express his thoughts; and his thoughts, tho' greatly transcending his expressions, flag far beneath the summit of this unutterable Mystery: *Insomuch*, says he, *that he rather experiences what this union is, than understands it*: which shews, he feels, or thinks he feels, the effects, but the cause is above his reach. Accordingly, he inserts in the *Confession of Faith*, *that this Mystery, by its loftiness, surpasses the measure of our senses and the whole order of nature; and, forasmuch as it is celestial, cannot be apprehended, that is, comprehended but by Faith*. And labouring to explain, in the *Catechism*, how it is possible that *Jesus Christ* should make us partakers of his proper substance, considering that his Body is in Heaven, and we on Earth, he answers, *This is done by the incomprehensible virtue of his Spirit, which indeed conjoins things separated by distance of place*.

Art. 36.

Dim. 53.

XLVIII.

A reflexi-
on on these
words of
Calvin.

A *Philosopher* would easily comprehend, that the divine power is not confined within the limits of place: the meanest capacities understand, how they may be united, in spirit and thought, to what is most distant from them; and *Calvin*, leading us by his expressions to a more *miracu-*

lous

lous union, either speaks without meaning, or excludes the union by Faith alone.

Accordingly, we see sixthly, he admits a participation in the *Eucharist*, which is neither in Baptism nor Preaching, since he says in the *Catechism*, *That, altho' Jesus Christ be therein truly communicated to us, nevertheless, 'tis but in part and not fully*; which shews, that he is otherwise given to us in the *Supper* than by *Faith*, since *Faith*, being as lively and perfect in *Baptism* and *Preaching*, he would be as fully given to us then, as in the *Eucharist*.

What he adds, in order to explain this fulness, is yet stronger, for there it is he says what has been already cited, that *Jesus Christ gives us his Body and Blood, to ascertain to us that we receive the fruit thereof*. Here then is that fulness, which we receive in the *Eucharist*, and not in *Baptism* or *Preaching*: whence it follows, that Faith alone does not give us the *Body and Blood* of our Saviour; but, that this *Body and Blood* being given to us after a special manner in the *Eucharist*, ascertain to us, to wit, give us a certain Faith, that we have part in the *Sacrifice* which was made of them.

Lastly, what *Calvin* lets fall, speaking even of the unworthy, makes appear, how far a miraculous Presence, independent of Faith, is to be believed in this *Sacrament*: for, altho' what he most inculcates is, that the unworthy, not having Faith, *Jesus Christ* is ready to come to them, but does not come in effect: the force of truth nevertheless obliges him to say, that *He is truly offer'd and given to all those, who are seated at the holy Table, altho' he be not received with fruit, but by the faithful only*, which is the very way of speaking that we employ.

XLIX.
Calvin
admits a
Presence
which is
proper
and pecu-
liar to the
Supper.
Dim. 52.

L.
The se-
quel of
Calvin's
expressi-
ons.

LF.
The Com-
munion of
the un-
worthy,
how real,
according
to *Calvin*,
Inst. iv.
17. 10.
Opusc. de
Cenâ
Domin.
1540.

In order then to understand the truth of the Mystery, which *Jesus Christ* works in the *Eucharist*, it must be believed, that his proper Body is therein truly *offer'd and given*, even to the unworthy; and is also *received*, altho' not received *with fruit*: which cannot be true, if it be not also true, that what is given us in this *Sacrament*, is the proper Body of the Son of God independently of Faith.

LII.
Continuation of Calvin's expressions concerning the Communion of the unworthy.
Inst. Ibid.
v. 33.

Calvin confirms this again in another place, where he writes thus: *In this consists the integrity of the Sacrament, which the whole world cannot violate, to wit, that the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ are as truly given to the unworthy, as to the faithful and elect.* Whence it follows, that, what is given them, is the *Flesh and Blood* of the Son of God independently of Faith, since it is certain, according to *Calvin*, that they have not Faith, or at least, do not exercise it, in this state.

Aug.
Serm. xi.
de verb.
Dom.

Thus have *Catholicks* reason to say, that, what makes the sacred gift, we receive in the *Eucharist*, be the *Body and Blood* of *Jesus Christ*, is not the *Faith* we have in his word, but the *alone* word by its all-powerful energy: infomuch that Faith adds nothing to the truth of the *Body and Blood*, but only makes them profitable to us; and nothing is more true than this saying of *St. Augustin*, the *Eucharist* is not less *the Body of our Lord* to *Judas*, than to the rest of the *Apostles*.

LIII.
A comparison of Calvin, which upholds the truth of the body's

The comparison, which *Calvin* makes use of in the same place, still more strengthens the reality: for after having said of the *Body and Blood*, what we have just seen, *That they are not less given to the unworthy, than to the worthy*, he adds, this happens alike as with *Rain*, which falling

falling on a rock runs off without penetrating : in like manner, says he, the impious repel the Grace of God, and hinder its penetrating into them. Observe, he here speaks of the *Body and Blood*, which, by consequence, must be given to the unworthy, as really, as rain falls upon a rock. As to the substance of the rain, it falls no less on rocks and barren places, than on those, where it fructifies ; and so, according to this comparison, *Jesus Christ* must be no less substantially present to the obdurate, than to the faithful who receive his *Sacrament*, tho' only in these it fructifies. The same *Calvin* tells us again with *St. Augustin*, that the unworthy, who partake of his *Sacrament*, are those troublesome people *who press him in the Gospel*; and the faithful, who receive him worthily, are that pious woman *which touches him*. If we consider the *Body* only, all touch him alike : but there is reason to say, those, who touch him with Faith, are the only that touch him truly, because they only touch him fruitfully. Can one speak in this manner, without owning, *Jesus Christ* is most really present both to the one and the other, and that these words, *this is my Body*, have always infallibly the effect express'd by them ?

I am well aware, that when *Calvin* speaks thus strongly of the *Body* being given to the impious as truly as to Saints, he, nevertheless, distinguishes betwixt, *giving*, and *receiving*, and that, in the same place, where he says, the *Flesh of Jesus Christ is as truly given to the unworthy, as to the elect*, he hath also said, *that it is not received*, except by the *elect* alone ; but this is an abuse of words. For, if he means, that *Jesus Christ* is not received by the unworthy in the same sense that *St. John* has said in the Gospel, *He came unto his own, and his own re-*

being re-
ceived by
the un-
worthy.
Inst. lib.
iv. c. 17.
n. 33. 2.
Def. opusc.
p. 781.

Diluc.
Exp. opusc.
p. 848.

LIV.
Calvin
speaks in-
conse-
quently.
Inst. lib.
iv. c. 17.
n. 33.

John. i.
ceived 11.

Ibid.

ceived him not, that is, *believed* not in him; he's in the right. But, as those, who received not *Jesus Christ* after this manner, did not hinder, by their infidelity, his coming as truly to them as to the rest; nor did they hinder *The word made Flesh to dwell among us*, from being truly received, with regard to his personal Presence, in the midst of the world, nay even in the midst of the world that knew him not and crucified him: in like manner must it be said, to speak consequently, that these words, *this is my Body*, render him not less present to the unworthy, who are guilty of his Body and Blood, than to the worthy who approach them with Faith; and barely with respect to the corporal Presence, he is equally received by both.

LV.
Calvin
explains,
as we do,
these
words
*The Flesh
profiteth
nothing.*
Diluc.
Exp. opusc.
859.

I shall here observe one word of *Calvin's*, which vindicates us from a reproach he and his followers are continually laying at our door. How often do they object to us these words, *The Flesh profiteth nothing?* and yet *Calvin* explains 'em thus, *the Flesh profiteth nothing, of itself alone, but it profiteth together with the Spirit.* This is exactly what we say, and what ought to be concluded from these words: not that *Jesus Christ* does not give us the proper substance of his Flesh independently of our Faith, for he has given it, even according to *Calvin*, to the unworthy; but, that it profiteth nothing to receive his Flesh, if it be not received together with his Spirit.

And if his Spirit be not always received together with his Flesh, this is not because it is not always there, for *Jesus Christ* comes to us *full of Spirit and Grace*; but because, in order to receive that Spirit which he brings, ours must be open'd by a lively Faith.

It is not therefore a body without a soul, or as *Calvin* speaks, a *carcass*, which we make the unworthy receive, when they receive the sacred Flesh of *Jesus Christ* without profiting; no more than it is a carcass and a body without soul and spirit, which *Jesus Christ* gives them even in the sentiments of *Calvin* himself. 'Tis but a vain exaggeration to call that Body a carcass, which is known to be animated; for *Jesus Christ*, risen from the dead, dies now no more; he hath life in him, and not only that life which makes the Body live, but that life also which enlivens the Soul. *Jesus Christ*, wherever he comes, carries with him life and grace. He brought with, and in him, his whole virtue with respect to the crowd, that throng'd about him; but *this virtue went not forth* but in behalf of that woman, who touch'd him with Faith. So, when *Jesus Christ* gives himself to the unworthy, he comes to them with the same virtue and spirit, which he sheds on the faithful; but this virtue and spirit act only on those, who believe; and, on all these points, *Calvin* must speak the same things we do, to speak consequently.

But, it's very true, he does not speak them. True, that, altho' he says we are partakers of the *proper substance* of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Jesus Christ*, he will have this substance only united to us *by Faith*; and after all, in spite of these great words of *Proper Substance*, his design is, to own nothing else in the *Eucharist*, but a *Presence* of *virtue*.

It is true likewise, that after he had said, we are partakers of the *proper substance* of *Jesus Christ*, he refuses to say, *he is really and substantially present*; as if the *participation* were not of like nature with the *Presence*, and the

LVI.

An expression of *Calvin's*, that the unworthy, according to us, receive only the carcass of *Jesus Christ*.

Inst. iv. xvii. n. 33. *Ep. ad Mart.* *Schal.* p. 247.

LVII.

Calvin weakens his own expressions.

2 *Defens.* *opusc. p.*

775.

proper

proper substance of a thing could ever be received, when it is present only by its virtue.

LVIII.
He eludes
the mira-
cle which
he owns
in the
Supper.
Diluc.
Exp. opusc.
845.

By the same artifice he shifts off that great miracle, which he himself is sensible he is obliged to own in the *Eucharist*: it is, said he, an incomprehensible secret, a miracle surpassing all sense and understanding of man. And what is this secret, this miracle? *Calvin* thinks he has express'd it in these words: *Is it reason which teaches us, that the soul, immortal and spiritual by its creation, is enlivened by the Flesh of Jesus Christ, and that so powerful a virtue flows from Heaven on the Earth?* But he deludes us and himself too. The singular miracle, which the *Holy Fathers*, and, after them, all Christians ever believed in the *Eucharist*, does not regard that virtue precisely, which the *Flesh of Jesus Christ* derives from the *Incarnation*. The miracle consists in the verifying of these words, *this is my Body*, when nothing but meer Bread appears to the eye, and in the giving the same Body, at the same time, to so many different persons. It was in order to explain these incomprehensible wonders, that the *Fathers* alledged all the other miracles of the divine power, the changing of *Water* into *Wine*, and all the other changes, even that great change which of nothing made all things. But *Calvin's* miracle is not of this nature, not even a miracle that is peculiar to the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*, nor a sequel from these words, *This is my Body*. 'Tis a miracle which is wrought in the *Eucharist* and out of the *Eucharist*, and which, to speak the truth, is what essentially flows from the very mystery of the *Incarnation*.

LIX.
Calvin is
sensible of

Calvin himself was aware, that some other miracle was to be sought in the *Eucharist*. He has

has express'd as much in several places of his works, but particularly in the *Catechism*: *How comes it to pass*, says he, *that Jesus Christ makes us partakers of the proper substance of his Body, considering his Body is in Heaven, and we on Earth*. In this consists the miracle of the *Eucharist*. What does *Calvin* answer to this, and what do all *Calvinists* answer with him? *That the incomprehensible virtue of the Holy Ghost, indeed, conjoins things separated by distance of place*. Does he mean to speak like a *Catholick*, and say, the *Holy Ghost* can every where render present what he has a mind to give in *substance*? I understand him, and acknowledge the true miracle of the *Eucharist*. Would he say that things separated, and remaining separated as far as heaven is from earth, are, nevertheless, united *substance to substance*? This is no miracle of the Almighty, but a chimerical and contradictory proposition which no body can understand.

But in reality, to speak the truth, neither *Calvin* nor the *Calvinists* do admit of any miracle in the *Eucharist*. A presence *by Faith*, and a Presence *by Virtue*, is not miraculous: the Sun hath as much virtue, and produces as great effects, at as great a distance. If therefore *Jesus Christ* be only present in virtue, there can be no miracle in the *Eucharist*: for which reason the *Swiss*, men naturally sincere, who have no other use for words than to speak just as they think, would never hear it mention'd. *Calvin*, in this more penetrating, very well saw with all the *Fathers* and all the faithful, that, in these words, *This is my Body*, there was as clear a mark of Omnipotence, as in these, *Let there be light*. To answer this idea, it was necessary, at least, to sound high the name of a miracle; but, in

the insufficiency of his doctrine to explain the miracle of the *Eucharist*.
Dim 53.

LX.
The *Calvinists* did not so much admit a miracle in the *Eucharist*, as they were sensible, one ought to be admitted.

Diluc.

Exp. opusc.
858.

in the main, no body was less disposed than *Calvin* to believe one in the *Eucharist*; otherwise, why does he continually upbraid us that we confound the laws of nature, that a body cannot be in several places, nor be given us whole and intire under the form of a morsel of Bread? is not this reasoning derived from *Philosophy*? undoubtedly; and nevertheless *Calvin*, who all along employs it, declares in many places, *that he will not make use of natural, nor philosophical reasons, of which he makes no account, but of Scripture only.* And why? because, on one hand, he cannot divest himself of them, nor so far raise himself above man as to despise them; and on the other hand, he is very sensible that receiving them in matters of Religion, is not only destroying the Mystery of the *Eucharist*, but all the Mysteries of Christianity at once.

LXI.
The perplexities and contradictions of *Calvin* in the defence of the figurative sense.

The same confusion appears when these words, *This is my Body*, are to be explain'd. All his books, all his sermons, all his discourses, are full of the *figurative* interpretation, and the figure *Metonymy*, which puts the sign for the thing. This is the way of speaking, which he calls *sacramental*, which he will have the Apostles beforehand well accusom'd to, when *Jesus Christ* instituted the Supper. The *Rock* was *Christ*, the *Lamb* is the *Passover*, *Circumcision* is the *Covenant*; *This is my Body*, according to him, are all the same ways of speaking; and this is what you find in every page.

Diluc.

Exp. opusc.
861.

Whether or no he were fully satisfied with this, the following passage will make appear. It is taken out of a book entitled, *A clear explanation*, already by me quoted, and which was writ against *Heshusius* a *Lutheran* minister. *Behold*, says *Calvin*, *how this hog makes us speak. In this phrase, This is my Body, there is a figure like to this;*

this; Circumcision is the Covenant, the Rock was Christ, the Lamb is the Passover. *The Forger imagined he was prattling at table, and spending his wit among his guests. Never will such fooleries be found in our writings: but, in plain words, this is what we say, viz. when we talk of Sacraments, a certain and particular way of speaking, usual in Scripture, must be follow'd. Thus, without escaping under the covert of a figure, we think it enough to say, what would be clear to the whole world, did not these beasts obscure even the Sun himself, that the figure Metonymy must here be own'd, whereby the name of the thing is given to the sign.*

Had *Hesbusius* fallen into such a contradiction, *Calvin* would certainly have told him in plain terms, he was drunk: but *Calvin* was sober, I must own, and, when he confounds himself, 'tis because he does not find in his own expositions what can please him. He disowns here, what he says thro' every page; he rejects that figure with contempt, which he is forced to betake himself to again the same moment; in a word, he can stand to nothing he says, and is ashamed of his own doctrine.

It must be own'd, nevertheless, that he was more nice than the rest of the *Sacramentarians*, and besides the superiority of his wit, the dispute, which had been so long on foot, had given him leisure more fully to digest this matter. For he does not stand so much upon *allegories* and *parables*, *I am the door, I am the vine*, nor on other expressions of the like nature, which always carry their own expositions with them so clear and manifest, that a child even could not be mistaken. And besides, if, because *Jesus Christ* made use of *allegories* and *parables*, every thing was to be understood in that sense, he plainly

LXII.

What it was that puzzled him.

LXIII.

He saw further into the difficulty than the rest of the *Sacramentarians*. How he endeavour'd to clear it. *Admon. ult. ad Westph. opusc. 812.*

saw

saw that would be nothing but filling the whole Gospel with confusion.

2 Def. o-
pusc. p. 781.
&c. 812.
813. 818.
&c.

To remedy this, *Calvin* bethought himself of these locutions which he calls *sacramental*, where, in the sign is put for the thing; and, by admitting them in the *Eucharist*, which beyond doubt is a *Sacrament*, he believes, he has found a certain means of establishing in it a *figure*, without bringing the same into a precedent for other matters.

LXIV.
The exam-
ples which
he drew
from Scrip-
ture. That
of Circum-
cision
which con-
futes in-
stead of
serving
him.

Gen. xvii.
13.
Ibid. 11.

He also brought more pat examples from *Scripture* than any of the *Protestant* writers before him. The chief difficulty lay in finding out a sign of *institution*, wherein, at the *institution* itself, the name of the thing is immediately given to the sign without preparing the mind for it, and this with the proper word by which this sign is instituted. The question was, whether any such example could be found in *Scripture*. *Catholicks* maintain'd there could not; and *Calvin* thought to convince them by this text of *Genesis*, in which *Almighty God*, speaking of *Circumcision*, which he instituted, named it the *Covenant*: *My covenant*, says he, *shall be in your flesh*. But he was plainly mistaken, since *Almighty God* before he had said, *my covenant shall be in your flesh*, had said already; *it shall be a sign of the covenant*. The *sign* was therefore instituted before the name of the thing was given to it, and the mind, by this exordium, prepared to the understanding of what ensued: from whence it follows, that our *Saviour* should have prepared the minds of the *Apostles* in order to take the *sign* for the *thing*, had he design'd to have given this sense to these words, *This is my Body*, *This is my Blood*; but, having not done this, 'tis to be believed, he intended to leave the words in their *natural* and obvious sense. *Calvin* owns as much himself, since,

since, by saying that the Apostles ought already to have been accustom'd to these *sacramental* ways of speaking, he owns, it would have been incongruous to employ such, had they not been accustom'd to them. As it then manifestly appears, they could not be accustom'd to give the name of a *thing* to the *sign* of *institution* without being forewarn'd; and there being no example of this nature in the Old or New Testament; from *Calvin's* own principles, it must be concluded against *Calvin*, that *Jesus Christ* ought not to have spoken in this sense, and, had he done it, his Apostles would not have understood him.

And, indeed, the truth is, altho' he placed his chief strength in these ways of speaking by him called *sacramental*, and in all intricacies ever guided himself by this clew, he is so little satisfied therewith, that he says in other places, that the *Scriptures* naming the *Church* the *Body* of our Lord, is the chief support of his doctrine. To make this his chief defence, shews him indeed conscious of his weakness. Is the *Church* the sign of our Lord's Body, as *Calvin* makes the Bread to be? by no means, she is his Body, as he is her head, by that so common a way of speaking, by which a whole nation and the Prince who governs them, are represented as a kind of *natural* body, which hath its head and members. What can then be the reason, that, after *Calvin* had laid his main stress on these *sacramental* ways of speaking, he depends still more on a manner of speaking, which is absolutely of another kind: unless it be, that, to support a *figure* of which he stands in need, he calls to his assistance all the *figurative* ways of speech of what nature soever they be, what little coherence soever they may have?

LXV.
Another example which makes nothing to the question, viz. that the Church is also call'd the Body of Jesus Christ. *Inst.* iv. 17.

The

LXVI.
Calvin
makes new
efforts to
preserve
the idea
of the
Reality.

Diluc.
Expof.
opusc. 864.

The rest of his doctrine gives him no less pain, and the violent expressions he makes use of plainly discover it. We have seen, how he will have the Flesh of *Jesus Christ* to penetrate us by its substance. I have taken notice, that, notwithstanding all these great words, he means no more by them, than that it penetrates us by its virtue: but this manner of speaking appearing weak to him, in order to mix the substance therewith, he makes us receive, in the *Eucharist*, as it were *An extract of the Flesh of Jesus Christ, upon condition however, that it remain in Heaven, and from its substance life flow down upon us*; as if we received the quintessence and the choicest part of his Flesh, the rest abiding in heaven. I won't say, he believed it so; but only, that the grounds of doctrine not being able to supply him wherewith to answer the idea of *Reality* he was so full of, he supply'd this defect by far-fetcht, unheard of, and extravagant expressions.

LXVII.
He cannot answer
the idea of
Reality,
which our
Saviour's
institution
impresses
on the
mind.
Inst. lib.
iv. c. xvii.
n. 11.

Diluc.
Exp. opusc.
864.

That I may not here dissemble any part of Calvin's doctrine concerning the communication, which we have with *Jesus Christ*, I am obliged to say, he seems, in some places, to make *Jesus Christ* as present in *Baptism*, as in the *Supper*: for, in general, he distinguishes three things in the *Sacrament* besides the sign, *The signification, which consists in the promises; the matter or the substance, which is Jesus Christ, with his death and resurrection; and the effect, namely, sanctification, life eternal, and all the graces, which Jesus Christ brings to us*. Calvin acknowledges all these things, as well in the *Sacrament of Baptism*, as in that of the *Supper*; and he teaches of *Baptism* in particular, that *the Blood of Jesus Christ is not less present to wash souls, than the water, to wash bodies; and, according to St. Paul,*

we

we are indeed there cloath'd with *Jesus Christ*, and our cloathing does not less compass, than our nourishment penetrates us. Hereby then he openly declares, that *Jesus Christ* is as present in *Baptism*, as in the *Supper*; and the consequence from his doctrine, I own, of course leads him to it: for after all, he neither admits of any other Presence in the *Supper*, than by Faith, nor of any Faith in the *Supper*, but what is in *Baptism*; consequently, I am far from pretending, he admits in it any other Presence in effect. What I pretend to shew, is the perplexity he is cast into by these words, *This is my Body*. For, either he must confound all Mysteries, or he must be able to give a reason why *Jesus Christ* spoke nowhere else, but in the *Supper*, with this energy. If his Body and Blood be as present, and as really received every where else, there was no reason to chuse these emphatick words for the *Eucharist* rather than for *Baptism*; and the eternal Wisdom would have spoken in vain. This very thing will be the everlasting and inevitable confusion of those, who defend the figurative sense. On one side, the necessity of allowing something particular to the *Eucharist* with respect to the Presence of the Body; and on the other, the impossibility of doing this, according to their principles, will always involve them in perplexities they can never disengage themselves from; and to extricate himself was what made *Calvin* use so many strong expressions relating to the *Eucharist*, which he never durst apply to *Baptism*, tho' there was the same reason for doing it, according to his principles.

His expressions are so violent, and the turns he here gives to his doctrine are so strain'd, that his disciples have been forced to abandon him in the main, nor can I but observe in this place

LXVIII.
The Calvinists in the main have abandoned

Calvin.
How he is
explain'd
in the
book call'd
the *Pre-*
servative.
Preserv.
195.

Ibid. 196.

a notorious *Variation* in the *Calvinian* doctrine; inasmuch as the *Calvinists* now-a-days, under pretext of interpreting *Calvin's* words, reduce them to nothing at all. To receive the *proper substance* of *Jesus Christ*, is, according to them, nothing else but receiving him *by his virtue*, *by his efficacy*, *by his merit*, the very things which *Calvin* had rejected as insufficient. All that we can hope from these great words, *the Proper Substance* of *Jesus Christ* received in the Supper, is only this, *viz.* that what we there receive, is *not the substance of another*: but, as for his *substance*, 'tis no more received, than the *substance* of the Sun is received by the eye when enlightened by its rays: the meaning of which is, that they are indeed quite strangers now to that proper substance so much inculcated by *Calvin*. If they defend it, 'tis only from a point of honour, and lest they should seem too openly to recant; and if *Calvin*, who abetted it with so much force in his books, had not also inserted it in the *Catechisms* and *Confession of Faith*, it would have long since been quite abandoned.

LXIX.

A sequel
of the ex-
planations
given to
Calvin's
words.
Dim 52.
Preserv.
p. 197.

The same may be said of those words of *Calvin* and of the *Catechism*, *viz.* that *Jesus Christ* is received *fully* in the *Eucharist*, but in *Preaching* and *Baptism*, *in part only*. This, naturally understood, implies, that the *Eucharist* hath something particular in it, which *Baptism* and *Preaching* have not: no such thing; it means now no more, than *three are more than two*; that, after having received Grace by *Baptism* and instruction by the Word, when to all this God adds the *Eucharist*, grace increases, and is strengthen'd, and we possess *Jesus Christ* more perfectly. Thus, all the perfection of the *Eucharist* is its coming in the last place; and altho', in instituting it, *Jesus Christ* made use of such particular

particular terms, it hath nothing particular for all that, nothing more than Baptism, unless, perchance, a *new sign*; and *Calvin's* talking so big of the proper substance, was all to no manner of purpose.

By this means, the explanations now given to *Calvin's* words and to those of the *Catechism* and *Confession of Faith*, under the pretext of interpretation, are a real *Variation* in doctrine, and a proof, that the illusions, by which *Calvin* endeavour'd to blind mankind in order to keep up a notion of Reality, could not long subsist.

To cover this manifestly weak side of the sect, 'tis true, the *Calvinists* answer, that from these expressions, we reproach them with, nothing at most can be concluded but that, perchance, the terms employ'd by them in explaining their doctrine at the beginning might not be quite so proper. But to answer in this manner, is making as if they did not see the difficulty. What ought to be concluded from these expressions of *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* is, that the words of our *Saviour* had, at the first, do what they would, made such an impression of *Reality* on their minds, as they never could come up to by words, and which, afterwards, forced them upon expressions, which, having no sense in their belief, give testimony to ours; the which is not only imposing on themselves by an erroneous way of speaking, but confessing an error in the thing itself, and, even in their *Confession of Faith*, bearing the stamp of their own conviction.

For instance, when he is forced to say, on one side, that the proper substance of the Body and Blood of our Lord is received; and on the other, that they are only received by their virtue, as the Sun is received by its rays, this is confounding himself and uttering contradictions.

LXX:

Whether there be nothing in these places of *Calvin*, but bare defects of expression. *Preserv. Ibid.* 194.

LXXI:

Calvin said more than he meant.

Then again, when he is forced to say on one side, that the *proper substance* of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* is as much received, in the *Calvinian Supper*, as in that of *Catholicks*, and that there is no difference but in the manner; and on the other side, that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* are as far distant from the faithful as Heaven is from Earth, and that a Real and Substantial Presence is, after all, one and the same thing with an Absence at so prodigious a distance; this is a prodigy unheard of in human language, and such expressions only serve to make us see, they would fain be able to say, what, according to their own principles, they cannot say in reason.

LXXII.
Why Hereticks are obliged to imitate the language of the Church.

And, that I may shew once for all, not to come back to it again, the consequence of these expressions of *Calvin* and the first *Calvinists*; let us reflect, that never as yet could any Hereticks be found, that did not affect to speak like the *Church*. The *Arians* and *Socinians* say, as well as we, that *Jesus Christ* is God, but improperly, and by representation, because he acts in the name of God, and by God's authority. The *Nestorians* make no difficulty of saying, that the Son of God, and the Son of *Mary*, are but the same person: but just as an *Embassador* is the same person with the *Prince* he represents. Shall we say, that at bottom they believe the same with the *Catholick Church*, and only differ in the way of delivering their thoughts? On the contrary, it will be said, they speak like her without thinking like her, because falshood is forced at least to mimick truth. With relation to *proper substance* and such like expressions in the works of *Calvin* and the *Calvinists*, the case is just the same.

Here

Here may we observe the conspicuous triumph of *Catholick* verity, in that the *literal sense* of the words of *Jesus Christ*, which we defend, after forcing *Luther* to maintain it however contrary to his inclinations, as hath been seen, hath also forced *Calvin*, who denies it, to confess nevertheless so many things, which make for, and establish it in an invincible manner.

LXXIII.
The triumph of truth.

Before I quit this subject, I must observe one place in *Calvin*, which affording great room for speculation, I question whether I shall be able to dive to the bottom of. It concerns the *Lutherans*, who, without destroying the Bread, *inclose the Body in it*. If, says he, *what they pretend, be only this, that, whilst the Bread is presented in the Mystery, the Body is also presented at the same time, because truth is inseparable from its sign, this is what I shall not much oppose*.

LXXIV.
A passage in *Calvin* for a Real Presence independent of Faith.
Inst. iv. 17. n. 16.

Here is then a thing which he neither altogether approves, nor disapproves. 'Tis a middling opinion, betwixt his own, and that of the generality of the *Lutherans*: an opinion establishing the Body inseparable from the sign: by consequence, independently of Faith, since it is certain, that, without it, the sign may be received; and what is this else, but the opinion, which I have attributed to *Bucer* and *Melancthon*, whereby they admit a Real Presence, even in the Communion of the unworthy, and without the assistance of Faith; requiring this Presence to accompany the sign as to time, but not to be confined to, or contain'd in it, as to place? This is what *Calvin* will not much oppose; that is, he does not much disapprove of a *Real Presence* inseparable from the *Sacrament*, and independent of Faith.

I have endeavour'd to make known the doctrine of this second *Patriarch* of the new *Reformation*, and persuade myself, I have discover'd what

LXXV.
Ceremonies rejected by *Calvin*.

*Ep. ad
Mel. p.
120. &c.*

what it was that gave him so much authority in that party. It appear'd he had new ideas about *imputed justice*, which was the ground-work of the *Reformation*, and about the *Eucharist* which had divided them for so long a time: but there was still a third point, which greatly enhanced his credit among those who valued themselves for men of wit. It was his boldness in rejecting ceremonies much beyond whatever the *Lutherans* had done; for they had made it a law to themselves, to retain those, which were not manifestly contrary to their new tenets. But on this head, *Calvin* was inexorable. He condemn'd *Melancthon*, who, in his opinion, thought ceremonies of too little a concern; and if the worship, introduced by him, appear'd to some too naked, even this had a new charm for the men of taste and spirit, who thought thereby to raise themselves above their senses, and soar beyond the vulgar. And because the *Apostles* had wrote little on ceremonies, which they were satisfied with establishing by practice, or often left to each *Church's* disposal, the *Calvinists* boasted, above all the Reformers, that they adher'd with greatest purity to the letter of *Scripture*, which in *England* and *Scotland* gave them the name of *Puritans*.

LXXVI.
What opinion the other Protestants had of the Calvinists.

By this means *Calvin* refined upon, and outstript the first authors of the new *Reformation*. The party, which bore his name, was hated extremely by all the other *Protestants*, who look'd upon them as the most haughty, restless, and seditious of any that had appear'd as yet. There is no need of alledging what has in several places been written of them by *James I. King of England* and *Scotland*. He makes, nevertheless, an exception in favour of *Puritans* of other countries, thinking it enough to publish, from his

own

own experience, that he knew none more dangerous, or greater enemies to the *regal power*, than those he had met with in his own Kingdoms. *Calvin* made much progress in *France*, and this great Kingdom, by the attempts of his followers, saw itself on the very brink of ruin: so that he was in *France*, much like what *Luther* was in *Germany*; and *Wittemberg*, which gave the new *Gospel* its first birth, was rival'd by *Geneva*, where ruled this head of the second Party of the new *Reformation*.

How much smitten he was with this glory, we shall perceive by a few words he wrote to *Me- lancthon*. *I own myself*, says he, *much your inferior*; yet am no wise ignorant, to what a degree *God has raised me on his Theatre*, nor can our friendship be violated without injuring the Church.

LXXVII.
Calvin's
pride.
Ep. Calv.
p. 145.

To see himself as it were exposed upon a grand Theatre, and the eyes of all *Europe* turn'd upon him; to see himself advanced to the foremost rank by his eloquence; to be conscious of the name he had acquired, and an authority revered by such a Party, made *Calvin* no longer able to contain himself; to him this was too alluring a charm; and 'tis this same charm that has made all *Heresiarchs*.

'Twas from a sense of this secret pleasure, that in his answer to *Balduinus*, his great adversary, he thus express'd himself: *He tells me, with reproach, that I have no children, and that God has snatch'd away the Son he had bestow'd upon me. Ought I to be thus reproach'd, I! who have so many thousands of children throughout all Chri- stendom?* To which he adds, *To all France is known my irreproachable faith, my integrity, my patience, my watchfulness, my moderation, and my assiduous labours for the service of the Church; things that from my early youth stand proved by so*

LXXVIII
His boast-
ing.
Resp. ad
Bald. int.
opusc.
Cal. p.
370.

many illustrious tokens. *With the support of such a conscience, to be able to hold my station to the very end of life, is enough for me.*

LXXIX.

The difference betwixt Luther and Calvin.

2 Def.

adv. Westph. opusc. 788.

He had so much extoll'd the holy ostentation and magnanimity of *Luther*, that he was not easy till he had follow'd the example; altho' to avoid the ridicule which *Luther* fell into, he particularly set up for the character of modesty, as one who had a mind to have it in his power to brag, that *he was without pride, and fear'd nothing so much as boasting*: so that the difference betwixt *Luther* and *Calvin's* ostentation is, that *Luther* who was hurried away by the impetuosity of his temper, ever thoughtless of moderation or restraint, praised himself as it were in transport: but the self-commendations *Calvin* fell into, inspite of all the laws of modesty which he had set to himself, burst from the center of his heart, and violently broke through all barriers.

2. Def

cont.

Westph. opusc. 842.

How pleasing was he in his own eyes, when he commends so much *His own frugality, his incessant labours, his constancy in dangers, his watchfulness to comply with his charge, his indefatigable application to extend the kingdom of Christ Jesus, his integrity in defending the doctrine of piety, and the serious occupation of his whole life in the meditation of heavenly things?* nothing *Luther* ever said came up to this, nor did the sallies of unbridled passion ever make him say so much, as *Calvin* utters of himself in cold blood.

LXXX.

How Calvin boasted of his eloquence.

2 Def.

791.

Nothing delighted him more than the glory of writing well; and *Westphalus* a *Lutheran*, having call'd him a Declaimer, *Do what he will,* says he, *no-body will ever give him credit, and the whole world is fully satisfied, how well I know to press an argument, how distinct is that conciseness with which I write,*

This

This is giving to himself, in three words, the whole glory that the art of eloquence can bestow on man. Here is, at least, a commendation, which *Luther* never arrogated to himself: for tho' he was one of the sprightliest Orators of his age, so far from making it appear that he valued himself for eloquence, he took a pleasure in saying, he was a poor Monk bred up in schools and obscurity, unacquainted with the art of speaking. But *Calvin*, wounded in this tender part, flies out, and at the expence of modesty, cannot forbear saying, that no-body delivers his thoughts more distinctly, or argues more strongly than himself.

Let us then allow him this glory, since he is so fond of it, of having writ as well as any of that age: nay, if he desires it, let us even set him above *Luther*: for, altho' *Luther* had something more original and lively, *Calvin*, inferior in genius, seems to carry it by dint of study. *Luther* triumph'd in speaking; but *Calvin's* pen was more correct especially in latin, his style, tho' dry, being purer and more coherent. They both spoke their native language in perfection; the vehemence of both was extraordinary; both gain'd many disciples and admirers by their talents; elated with their success, they both despised the Fathers; both were impatient of contradiction, nor did their eloquence ever flow more copiously than when fraught with contumelies.

Whoever blush'd at those, which *Luther's* arrogance drew from his pen, will not be less confounded at what *Calvin* writes: his adversaries are always knaves, fools, rogues, drunkards, furies, mad men, beasts, bulls, asses, dogs, Swine; and *Calvin's* fine style reads polluted with this filth through every page. Be they

Catholicks

LXXXI.
Calvin's
eloquence.

LXXXII.
His temper as violent, but sower than *Luther's*.

- Catholicks, or Lutherans, 'tis all one to him, he spares none. Westphalus's school is to him a sinking hog-sty. The Lutherans supper is almost always call'd a supper of Cyclopes, at which a barbarity may be seen becoming Scythians; if he's used to say that the devil drives on Papists, he repeats a hundred times, he has bewitch'd the Lutherans, and that he cannot comprehend, why he, above all others, is assaulted by them, unless it be that Satan, whose vile slaves they are, so much the more eggs them on against him, as he sees his labours more useful to the Church, than theirs. Those he treats thus were the chief and most renown'd among the Lutherans. Amidst these invectives he still boasts his sweetness; and after having stuffed his book with all that can be imagined, not only most bitter, but also most atrocious, he thinks he comes well off by saying, That he was so remote from any gall, when he penn'd these injurious taunts, that he himself, upon reading his work over again, stood quite astonish'd, that so much harsh language could have ever been utter'd by him, and his heart still void of bitterness. It was, says he, the heinousness of the subject, which alone furnish'd him with all these abusive words, and yet a great many more he suppress'd, which stood ready to bolt from him. After all, he is not displeased that these stupid creatures have, at last, smarted under the lash, and hopes, this may help to mend 'em. Yet he does not refuse to own, he has said something more than he would have done, and that the remedy apply'd by him was a little too violent. But after this modest Confession, he lashes out more than ever, and in the very same breath that he interrogates, Dog, dost thou understand me? Mad-man, dost thou comprehend me? Dost thou take me right, great beast? he adds, that He is well pleased*
- Opusc.*
799.
Ibid. 803.
837.
- Diluc.*
Expos.
Ibid. 839.
- 2 Def.*
in Westph.
- Ult. Adm.*
795.
- Opusc.*
838.

pleased that the contumelies men load him with, are not retaliated.

Luther's passion, put in the balance with this, was meekness itself; and should there be made a comparison betwixt them, there is not a man, who had not rather stand the brunt of the impetuous and insolent fury of the one, than of the profound and bitter malice of the other, who brags of being cool, in the disgorging of such a flow of rancour upon all that come in his way.

Both of them, after their attacks on mortal men, turn'd their malice against heaven, by openly despising the authority of the holy *Fathers*. Every body knows, how often *Calvin* hath trampled on their decisions, what a pleasure he took in taking them to task like school-boys, in giving them their lessons, and the outrageous manner whereby he thought to elude their unanimous consent, by saying for instance, *That these good men follow'd, without discretion, a custom that prevail'd without reason, and which was but a little while in getting into vogue.*

LXXXIII

The contempt he has for the Fathers.

Tr. de Ref. Eccl.

The subject, he then had in hand, was prayer for the dead. All his writings are full of the like discourses. But, inspite of heretical pride, the authority of the *Fathers* and ecclesiastical antiquity lies weighty on their minds. For all *Calvin's* avow'd contempt of the *Fathers*, he cites them nevertheless as witnesses, whose authority it is not lawful to reject, when, after quoting them, he writes these words: *What will they say to the ancient Church? will they damn the ancient Church? or, will they banish St. Augustin out of the Church?* The very same might be return'd upon him, in the point of prayer for the dead and in the rest; where it is certain, and often by his own Confession, that he hath the *Fathers* against him. But without entering into this particular

LXXXIV

The Fathers make themselves respected by Protestants inspite of their teeth.

2 Def.

opusc. 777.

Admon. ult.

836. *Ibid.*

ticular dispute, I am satisfy'd with having observ'd, that our Reformists are often constrain'd by the force of truth, to respect the *Fathers* sentiments more than their doctrine and inclination carries them to.

LXXXV.
Whether
Calvin
ever va-
ried in his
doctrine.

Those, who have seen the endless variations of *Luther*, may inquire, whether *Calvin* fell into the same fault. To which I shall answer, that, besides a more coherent way of thinking, he had the advantage of writing a long time after the beginning of the pretended *Reformation*; so that matters having been already much discuss'd, and doctors having had leisure to digest them, *Calvin's* doctrine seems more uniform than that of *Luther*. But, however, we shall see hereafter (whether from a policy usual to the heads of new Sects to mend and perfect their own work, or, by a necessity common to those who fall into error) that *Calvin* also varied very much, not only in his own particular writings, but also in the publick acts, which he drew in the name of all his followers, or, which he inspired them with.

And even to go no further, upon considering only what I have already related of his doctrine, we may have seen, that it abounds with contradictions, that he follows not his own principles, and, with great words, says just nothing.

LXXXVI
Variations
in the Acts
of the *Cal-
vinists*.
The agree-
ment of
Geneva
compared
with the
Catechism
and the
Confession
of *France*
M D L I V.

And if we make never so little reflexion on those acts which he framed, or which the *Calvinists*, with his approbation, publish'd in five or six years time; neither he, nor they can any wise bear themselves guiltless of having expounded their Faith with a criminal dissimulation.

In 1554, we have seen a solemn agreement made betwixt those of *Geneva* and *Zurick*: it was drawn by *Calvin*, and the common Faith of these two Churches is there set forth.

Concerning

Concerning the Supper, no more is said there than *That these words, This is my Body, must not be taken precisely in a literal sense, but figuratively; so that the name of the Body and Blood is by Metonymy given to the Bread and Wine which signify them; and that, if Jesus Christ nourishes us by the food of his Body, and the drink of his Blood, this is done by Faith and the virtue of the Holy Ghost, without any transfusion or other mixture of substance, but because we have life by his Body once sacrificed, and his Blood once shed for us.*

If, in this agreement, we find nothing mention'd either of the proper *substance* of the Body and Blood receiv'd in the Supper, or of the incomprehensible miracles of this Sacrament; or such like things as have been remark'd in the *Catechism* and the *Confession of Faith* of the *French Calvinists*, the reason is obvious. Namely, for that the *Swiss*, as hath appear'd, and those of *Zurick*, having been instructed by *Zuinglius*, would never come into the notion of any miracle in the Supper, and satisfied with a virtual presence, knew not the meaning of that communication of proper *substance*, which *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* kept such a stir about; in order therefore to come to an agreement, these things were necessarily to be suppress'd, and such a *Confession of Faith*, as the *Swiss* could away with, was to be presented to them.

To these two *Confessions of Faith* drawn by *Calvin*, one for *France*, the other to please the *Swiss*, a third also, during his life, was added in favour of the *German Protestants*.

Beza and *Farel*, deputed by the reform'd Churches of *France* and that of *Geneva* in 1557, carried it to *Wormes*, where the Princes and States of the *Ausburg-Confession* were assembled.

The

Opusc.
Cal. 752.
Hosp. An.
1554.
Art. xxii.
xxiii.

LXXXVII.
A third
Confession
of Faith
sent into
Germany.
MDLVII.

Hosp. ad
1557.
f. 252.

The design was to engage them to intercede, in the Calvinists behalf, with Henry II. Who, treading in the steps of Francis I. his father, did his utmost to depress them. The expressions of proper *substance*, readily laid aside when the *Swiss* were treated with, were not forgotten now. Nay, so many other things were added; and so much said, that, how all this can be reconcilable with the doctrine of a *figurative* sense, is past my skill to discover. For it is there said, *That not only the benefits of Jesus Christ are received in the Supper, but even his proper flesh and substance; that the Body of the Son of God is not there proposed to us in figure only and by signification symbolically or typically as a memorial of Jesus Christ absent, but that he is truly and certainly render'd present with the symbols, which are not meer signs. And if, said they, we add, that the manner, whereby this Body is given to us, is symbolical and sacramental, this is not because it is only figurative, but by reason, that, under the species of things visible, God offers to us, gives to us, and, with the symbols, renders present to us, that which is there signified to us; and this we say to the end it may appear, that, in the Supper, we retain the proper Body and the proper Blood of Jesus Christ; and, if any dispute still remain, it concerns nothing but the manner.*

Till now we had never heard the Calvinists say, that the Supper was not to be look'd upon as a memorial of Jesus Christ absent: we had never heard them say, that in order to give us, not his benefits, but his Substance and his proper Flesh, *He render'd it truly present to us under the species; nor that in the Supper was to be confess'd, a Presence of the own Body and the own Blood; and were we not acquainted with the equivocations of the Sacramentarians, we could*

could not but take them for as zealous defenders of the *Real Presence* as the *Lutherans* themselves. To hear them talk, one might reasonably doubt, if any difference betwixt theirs and the *Lutheran* doctrine still remain'd : *If*, said they, *any dispute still remain, it concerns not the thing itself, but the manner of the Presence only* ; so that the Presence, they acknowledge in the *Supper*, must at the bottom be as *Real* and as *Substantial*, as that which the *Lutherans* confess.

And in fact, when afterwards they treat on the manner of this Presence, they reject nothing in this manner but what the *Lutherans* reject : they reject *the natural or local* manner of uniting himself to us ; and no-body says that *Jesus Christ* is united to us in the natural and ordinary way, or, that he is in the *Sacrament* or in the faithful, as bodies are in their place ; for he is there certainly in a more elevated manner. They reject *the effusion of the human nature of Jesus Christ*, to wit, *Ubiquity*, which the *Lutherans* rejected likewise, and which, as yet, had not so highly gain'd the ascendant. They reject a gross mixture of the Substance of *Jesus Christ* together with ours, which no-body did admit, for nothing can be less gross, and further remote from vulgar mixtures, than the union of our Lord's Body with ours, the which is no less avow'd by *Lutherans*, than by *Catholicks*. But, what they above all things reject utterly, is *that gross and diabolick Transubstantiation*, without saying so much as a word of the *Lutheran Consubstantiation*, which, as we shall see, they did not think in their hearts a whit less diabolical or less carnal. But it behoved them to be silent on that head, for fear of offending the *Lutherans*, whose assistance they were then imploring. And, finally, at their conclusion, they cut off

short

short by saying, that the *Presence*, which they acknowledge, is brought to pass in a *spiritual manner*, and supported by the incomprehensible virtue of the *Holy Ghost*: words which the *Lutherans* themselves employ'd as well as *Catholicks*, in order to exclude, together with a *Presence in figure*, even a *Presence in virtue*, which hath nothing in it that's miraculous or beyond comprehension.

LXXXVIII.
Another
Confession
of Faith
made by
those in
prison in
order to be
sent to the
Prote-
stants.

Such was the *Confession of Faith*, which the *Calvinists of France* sent to the *Protestants of Germany*. Those, who were imprisoned in *France* on the score of Religion, join'd to it their particular declaration, in which they expressly receive the *Confession of Ausburg* in all its articles, excepting only that of the *Eucharist*; adding nevertheless, what is not less strong than the *Ausburg-Confession*, that *the Supper is not a sign of Jesus Christ absent*; then turn themselves immediately against the *Papists*, and their change of *Substance and Adoration*, without speaking so much as a word against the particular doctrine of *Lutheranism*.

This was the cause that induc'd the *Lutherans*, with the joint consent of all their Divines, to judge that this declaration, sent from *France*, was conformable in every point to the *Confession of Ausburg*, notwithstanding what was there said concerning the tenth article; because, in the main, it said more on the *Real Presence*, than this article had done.

The article of *Ausburg* express'd, *That with the Bread and Wine, the Body and Blood were truly present and truly distributed to those who took the Supper*. These say, that the proper *Flesh* and the proper *Substance of Jesus Christ* is truly present, and truly given with the symbols, and under the visible species, and the rest nothing less
precise

precise than what has been related; insomuch that, if it be ask'd which more strongly expresses the *Substantial* Presence, the *Lutherans* who believe it, or the *Calvinists* who disbelieve it, the last will certainly have the preference.

As for the other articles of the *Confession* of LXXXIX *Ausburg*, they stood confirm'd by the sole exception of this article of the *Supper*; that is to say, the *Calvinists*, even those who were detain'd in prison for their Religion's sake, profess'd, contrary to their belief, the necessity of *Baptism*, the *amissibility* of Justice, the uncertainty of Predestination, the *merit* of Good-works, and prayer for the Dead; all of them points which we have read in express terms in the *Ausburg-Confession*; and in this manner did the Martyrs of the new *Reformation* destroy, by their equivocations, or express denial, that Faith for which they died.

All the other articles of the *Ausburg-Confession* are own'd by the *Calvinists*.

Thus have we clearly seen three different languages of our *Calvinists* in three different *Confessions* of Faith. By that which they made for themselves, it was likely they aim'd to please themselves: to content the *Zuinglians*, they lopp'd off something from it; and, in case of need, they knew what to add to make the *Lutherans* their friends.

XC.
Reflexions on these three Confessions of Faith.

We shall now hear the *Calvinists* explain their doctrine, not among one another, or to the *Zuinglians* or *Lutherans*, but to the *Catholicks*. This happen'd in 1561, in the minority of *Charles IX.* at the famous Conference of *Poissy*, where, by the orders of *Queen Katherine de Medicis* his Mother and Regent of the kingdom, the Prelates were assembled in order to confer with the ministers about reforming those abuses which gave a pretext to Heresy.

XCI.
The Conference of *Poissy*.
How undertaken.
Calvin comes not to it, but leaves the affair to *Beza*.

As in *France* people grew weary of the long delays of a general *Council* so often promised by

M D LXI.
Hosp. ad An. 1561.
the *Bez. Hist.*

Eccl. l. iv.
La Poplen.
l. vii.
Thuan. l.
 xxviii.

the Popes, and of the frequent interruptions of that which was at length, conven'd by them at *Trent*, the *Queen*, deceived by some Prelates of suspected doctrine, whose sentiments were back'd by the Lord Chancellor *de l'Hopital*, a great personage and very zealous for his country, believed too easily that in so universal a commotion, she might of herself take care of *France* apart, without the authority of the *Holy See* and *Council*. She was made to believe, that a Conference would reconcile mens minds, and that the disputes, which divided them, would more surely be determin'd by an agreement than by a decision, the which could not fail of displeasing one or the other side. The Cardinal *Charles* of *Lorrain* Archbishop of *Rheims*, who, having govern'd all under *Francis II.* with his brother *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, had always maintain'd himself in great repute, a great genius, a great states-man, of a sparkling and winning eloquence, learned even for a man of his quality and employments, hoped to signalize himself in publick, and withal to please the Court by entering into the *Queen's* design. By this means the assembly of *Poissy* was set on foot. The *Calvinists* deputed thither the ablest men they had, excepting *Calvin*, whom they would not shew, whether from fear of exposing to the publick hatred the Head of so odious a Party, or he himself believed it safer for his honour to send his disciples, he remaining at *Geneva* where he ruled, and underhand managed the assembly, than to engage in person.

It is likewise true that the weakness of his health, and the violence of his head-strong temper, render'd him less able to maintain a Conference, than *Theodore Beza*, who was of a more robust constitution and more master of himself: *Beza* then was the man that most appear'd, or rather,

rather, who alone appear'd in this assembly. He was held for the chief among the disciples and the intimate friend of *Calvin*, who had chosen him for a Coadjutor in his ministry and labours at *Geneva*, which seem'd the *Metropolis* of his Reformation. *Calvin* dispatch'd his instructions to him, and *Beza* returned him a full account of all transactions, as appears from both their letters.

Two points of Doctrine only, properly speaking, were debated in this assembly, one, relating to the *Church*, the other, to the *Supper*. There lay the stress of the whole affair, because the article of the *Church* was look'd upon by *Catholicks* as a general principle, which subverted the very foundation of all new *Churches*; and among the particular articles disputed on, none appear'd so essential as that of the *Supper*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* urged the opening of the Conference, tho' the main Body of the Prelates, especially the Cardinal *de Tournon* Archbishop of *Lyons* who presided over them in quality of the oldest Cardinal, had an extreme repugnance to it. They apprehended and with reason too, lest the subtilties of the ministers, their dangerous eloquence heighten'd with an air of piety, never wanting to the most perverse of Hereticks, and more than all this, lest the charms of novelty might impose on Courtiers, before whom they were to speak, but chiefly on the King and Queen, obnoxious both, he on the score of his tender age, she from natural curiosity, to any impressions, rather bad than good, considering the wretched disposition of human nature and the temper which then prevailed at court. But the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, back'd by *Montluc* Bishop of *Valence*, carried the point, and so the Conference began.

XCII.
Matters
treated of
in the
Confe-
rence, and
the open-
ing of it.

XCIH.
The harangue of the Cardinal of Lorrain. The Calvinists Confession of Faith presented to the King in the assembly. *Beza* speaks and says more than makes for him concerning the Absence of Jesus Christ in the Supper.
Ep. Bez. ad Calv. inter Ep. Calv. p. 330.

Thuan. xxviii. 48.

There is no need of my giving an account, either of the admirable harangue made by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and its merited applause; nor of the honour which *Beza* acquired by offering to answer out of hand to the Cardinal's premeditated discourse: but it is of some importance to remember, that, in this august assembly, the Ministers presented publickly to the *King*, in the name of all their Churches, their joint *Confession of Faith*, drawn under *Henry II.* in their first Synod held at *Paris*, as abovesaid. *Beza*, who presented it, made at the same time by a long discourse, the defence thereof, when, notwithstanding all his address, he fell into a great self-contradiction. He, who a few days before, being accused by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* in the Presence of *Queen Katherine* and the whole court, of having wrote in one of his books, that *Jesus Christ* was no more in the *Supper* than in the *Mire*, *Non magis in Cœnâ quam in Cœno*, had rejected this proposition as impious and detested by the whole Party; advanced the equivalent to it, at the Conference, even in the face of all *France*. For, being on the subject of the *Eucharist*, in the heat of his discourse, he said, that with respect to place, and the Presence of *Jesus Christ* considered according to his human nature, his Body was as far distant from the *Supper*, as the highest heavens are from earth. The whole assembly was in a commotion at these words. They remember'd, with what a horror he had spoken of that proposition, which as much excluded *Jesus Christ* from the *Supper*, as from *Mire*. He now falls into it again when no-body urges him. The murmur from all sides made it appear, how much men were struck with so strange a novelty. *Beza* himself under confusion for having said so much, did not cease

cease thereafter to importune the *Queen*, by frequent and reiterated requests, to obtain the liberty of explaining himself, on account, that being press'd by time, he had not had the leisure of making his thought rightly understood before the *King*. But so many words are not required to utter what a man believes. And indeed, one may venture to say that, what disturb'd *Beza*, was not any deficiency in expounding his tenets; but rather, what gave him and his friends so much anxiety, was, that by laying open in too distinct terms the bottom of the Party's doctrine on the *Real Absence* of *Jesus Christ*, he had made it but too visibly appear, that these great words of *Proper Substance* and the like, which they employ'd to keep up some notion of Reality, were nothing but meer sham.

From harangues they soon proceeded to particular Conferences, chiefly on the *Supper*, wherein, the Bishop of *Valence*, and *Duval* Bishop of *Sees*, to whom a smattering of erudition, not to mention other motives, gave a secret propensity towards *Calvinism*, were set on nothing else, together with the Ministers, but to find out some ambiguous formulary which both sides, in some measure, might rest satisfied with, without diving to the bottom of the question.

The strong expressions, which we have seen in the *Confession of Faith* then presented, pretty well suited with this scheme: but the Ministers must needs make further additions which ought not to be omitted. This will appear surprising: for, as they ought to have done their best fully to explain their doctrine in the *Confession of Faith* which they but just presented to so solemn an assembly, it seems that, when question'd concerning their belief, they should have nothing else to do than refer themselves to so au-

XCIV.
Another
explanati-
on of the
Supper-ar-
ticle full of
perplexed
words.

thentick an act: but this is what they did not do; and behold here in what manner they proposed their Doctrine by common consent. *We confess the Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the holy Supper, where he truly gives us the substance of his Body and Blood by the operation of his Holy Spirit, and that we receive and eat spiritually and by Faith, this same true Body, which was sacrificed for us; to the end we might be bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh, and be enliven'd, and receive all that is profitable to our salvation; and by reason that Faith, supported by God's promise, makes present the things received, and takes really and in fact the true natural Body of our Lord by virtue of the Holy Ghost; in this sense we do believe and confess the Presence of the own Body and the own Blood of Jesus Christ in the Supper.* Here are still those great phrases, those pompous expressions, and, tho' many words, yet nothing said. But after all this verbosity, they were not yet satisfied with their exposition but, soon after subjoin'd, *That the distance of place could be no hindrance to our partaking of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, by reason that our Lord's Supper is a heavenly thing, and altho' we on earth receive with our mouths the Bread and Wine as the true signs of the Body and Blood, our souls, which are nourished therewith, being raised up to heaven by Faith and the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, enjoy present the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and in that manner the Body and Blood are truly united to the Bread and Wine, but in a sacramental way, to wit, not according to place, or the natural position of bodies, but inasmuch as they efficaciously signify, that God gives this Body and this Blood to those, who faithfully partake of the signs themselves, and that by Faith they truly do receive them.* How many words, only to express, that the

the signs of the Body and Blood received with Faith, do, by this Faith inspired from God, unite us to the *Body* and *Blood* which are in heaven! no more than this had been requisite to explain themselves distinctly; and this substantial enjoyment of the Body *truly* and *really* present, and the rest of that strain, are to no other purpose than to raise a mist of confused ideas, instead of dispelling, by setting things in a clear light, which, in an explanation of Faith, we are obliged to do. But, in this simplicity, which we demand of them, Christians would not have found what they desir'd, namely, the true Presence of *Jesus Christ* in both his natures; and deprived of this Presence, would have perceived, as it were, a certain void, which, for want of the thing itself, the Ministers endeavour'd to fill up with this multiplicity of sounding, yet insignificant expressions.

The *Catholicks*, at a loss to know the meaning of all this monstrous language, could only perceive from it, that *Beza's* great design by all these phrases, was to supply, what he was conscious, was too hollow and defective in the *Calvinian* Supper. The whole force of them lay in these words, *Faith makes present the things promised*. But this discourse appear'd very indeterminate to *Catholicks*. By this means, said they, judgment and the general resurrection, the glory of the blessed, as well as the fire of the damn'd, will be equally present to us with the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the holy *Eucharist*; and, if this Presence by Faith, makes us receive the very *substance* of things, nothing hinders the happy Souls that are in Heaven from receiving actually and before the general Resurrection, the proper substance of their bodies as truly, as we are here made to receive by *Faith*, the proper *substance* of the

XCV.

The reflexions of *Catholicks* on these indeterminate and pompous discourses.

Body of *Jesus Christ*. For, if Faith renders things so truly present, as thereby to possess the substance of them, how much more the beatifick vision? but in order to unite to us the proper substance of the *Body* and *Blood*, what does avail this lifting up our souls to Heaven by Faith? can a moral elevation, and in affection only, bring to pass such unions? in this manner, what substance is there that cannot be embraced? what does the efficacy of the *Holy Ghost* work here? the *Holy Ghost* inspires Faith, but Faith thus inspired, be it never so strong, unites itself no more to the *substance* of things, than other thoughts, than other affections of the mind. What can be the meaning of those indefinite words, *We receive from Jesus Christ what is profitable to us*, without declaring what this is? if these words of our Saviour, *Flesh profiteth nothing*, are, as the Ministers will have it, to be understood of the true *Flesh* of *Jesus Christ* consider'd as to its *substance*, to what purpose so much noise about what, they pretend, affords no profit? why is there kept so great a work about the *substance* of the *Flesh* and *Blood* received so really? why not reject, concluded *Catholicks*, these empty words, and in proposing their Faith at least, lay cant aside and speak intelligibly?

XCVI.
Peter Martyr's opinion concerning the equivocations of the Ministers.

Peter Martyr a native of *Florence*, and one of the most famous Ministers that were in this assembly, was of this mind, and frequently declared, that for his part, he knew no meaning this word *Substance* had; yet endeavour'd to explain it the best he could, not to give offence to *Calvin* and his companions.

XCVII.
What the Dr. *Depense* added to the Ministers ex-

Claud Depense a *Parisian* Doctor, a man of good sense, and learned for a time when matters had not so well been canvassed and clear'd up, as by so much disputing they have been since, was

was among those who were to labour with the Ministers to reconcile the *Supper*-article. Being sincere, and of a mild temper, he was judged proper for this design: but for all his mildness, he could not bear with the doctrine of the *Calvinists*; but thought those insupportable who made the work of God, namely the *Presence* of the Body of *Jesus Christ*, to depend not on the word and promise of him who gave it, but, on their *Faith* who were to receive it: accordingly he disapproved their article from the first proposition, and before all the additions which they since made to it. For his part therefore, to render our Communion, with the *substance* of the Body, independent on the faith of men, and annex'd only to the efficacy and operation of the word of God, letting pass the first words as far as those where the Ministers say, *That Faith makes things present*, he substituted these words in lieu thereof, *viz. And because the word and promise of God makes present the things promised, and by the efficacy of this word, we do really and in fact receive the true natural Body of our Lord, in this sense, we confess and acknowledge in the Supper the Presence of his proper Body and proper Blood.* Thus, he own'd a *Real* and *Substantial* Presence independently of Faith, and in virtue of the sole words of our Lord; whereby he thought to determine the ambiguous and unsettled sense of those terms, which the Ministers made use of.

pressions in
order to
make them
pass the
better.

The Prelates approved nothing of all this, and pursuant to the opinions of the Doctors, whom they had brought along with them, declared the article of the Ministers heretical, captious, and insufficient: heretical, because it denied the substantial, and properly so call'd Presence, captious, because in denying it, it seem'd to favour the

XCVIII.

The deciti-
on of the
Prelates
delivering
very plain-
ly and in
few words
the whole
thing; Catholick

Doctrine
Bez. Hist.
Ecc. l. iv.
p. 611.
612. 613.
614.
La Poplen.
L. vii.
Ibid.

Ibid.

thing; insufficient, because it conceal'd and dissimuled the Ministry of Priests, the Force of the sacramental words, and the Change of Substance, the natural effect thereof. On their side they opposed, against the Ministers, as precise and full a declaration of their Faith; as that of the Calvinists was imperfect and perplex'd. Beza relates it in these terms: *We believe and confess, that in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is really and substantially under the species of Bread and Wine by the virtue and power of the divine Word pronounced by the Priest, the sole Minister for this effect ordained, according to the institution and commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Here is nothing captious or equivocal, and Beza owns, this was all that could be drawn at that time from the Clergy in order to allay the troubles of religion, the Prelates having made themselves judges instead of conferring amicably. I desire no other testimony than this of Beza, to shew that the Bishops did their duty in fairly explaining their Faith, avoiding great words which impose on men by their sound, and signify nothing distinctly, and by refusing to enter into any composition in what relates to Faith. Such plain dealing as this, suited not with the Ministers, and so this great assembly broke up without any manner of success. God baffled the policy and pride of those who thought by their eloquence, little arts, and weak contrivances, to quench, in its first fury, so great a conflagration.

XCIX.
The vain
discourses
of the
Bishop of
Valence,
concerning
the reformation of
manners.

The Reformation of discipline succeeded but little better. Fine speeches were utter'd, fine proposals made, but to little or no effect. The Bishop of Valence discoursed admirably, as his custom was, against abuses, and on the duties and charge of Bishops, chiefly on that of residence

dence which he observed the least of any. But to make amends, he was quite silent as to *Celibacy* and the exact observation of it, tho', by the *Fathers* it was always insisted on as the brightest ornament of the Ecclesiastical order. He had not fear'd to violate it, by a clandestine marriage in spite of the *Canons*, nay, a *Protestant* historian who, notwithstanding he sets him off for one *Of the wisest and greatest men of that age* *V. S. lib. vii. n. 7.* through the whole sequel of his life, reveals to us his passion, his avarice, and the shameful disorders of his life, the noise of which reach'd as far as *Ireland*, in the most scandalous manner imaginable. Yet he declaim'd loudly against vice, and convinced mankind, that he was one of those admirable *Reformers*, who could correct and reprove every thing in their neighbour, provided you leave them but alone to their own corrupted inclinations.

As for the *Calvinists*, it was a triumph to them to have been so much as heard in such an assembly. But this imaginary triumph was but short, for the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had a long while conceived a design to propose to them the signing of the tenth article of the *Ausburg-Confession*: should they sign it, this would be embracing the *Reality*, which all those of that Confession so strenuously defended; should they refuse it, this would be condemning *Luther* and his followers in an essential point, who were unquestionably the first authors of the new *Reformation* and its main support. In order to make the division of all these *Reformers* more manifest all over *France*, the Cardinal had before-hand taken his measures and agreed with the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, to send him three or four of their ablest Doctors, who, appearing at *Poissy* under pretext of making up their whole differences at once, should there undertake

C.
The tenth article of the *Ausburg-Confession* is proposed to the *Calvinists*, but they refuse to sign it.

Ep. Bez.
ad Calv.
inter Cal.
Ep. p.
346. 347.

undertake the *Calvinists*. Thus, these new Doctors, all of them giving out the Scripture for so mighty clear, would have been seen urging one another with its authority, yet never able to come to the least agreement. The *Lutheran* Doctors arrived too late; but the Cardinal nevertheless, fail'd not to make his proposal. *Beza* and his companions, resolv'd not to sign the tenth article as propos'd, thought to escape by inquiring of the *Catholicks*, in return, whether they were willing to subscribe the rest; by which means they should all, in every thing, agree, except the tenth article of the Supper alone; a subtile, but frivolous evasion. For after all, the *Catholicks* had no manner of reason to concern themselves with *Luther's* authority, nor the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, nor the defenders of it, all which the *Calvinists* could not be too tender of for fear of condemning the *Reformation* in its very source. However that be, this was all the Cardinal obtain'd, and content with making it appear to all *France*, that this party of *Reformers*, who outwardly shew'd so terrible, were yet inwardly so weak by their own divisions, he suffer'd the assembly to break up. But *Antony* of *Bourbon* King of *Navarre* and first Prince of the Blood, very favourable, till then, to the new Party, which he was only acquainted with under the appellation of *Lutherans*, undeceived himself, and instead of that piety, which he had before believed in them, began, from that time, to be convinced, there was nothing in it but bitter zeal and prodigious infatuation.

CL.
The Confession of
Ausburg-
received
by the

Yet it was no small advantage to the *Catholic* cause, to have oblig'd the *Calvinists*, in such an assembly, to receive anew the *Confession* of *Ausburg* with exclusion only of the *Supper*-article; since as we have seen, they renounced by this means

means so many important points of their own doctrine. *Beza*, nevertheless, went through stich, and made a solemn declaration of it with the consent of all his colleagues. But whatsoever policy, and the desire of supporting themselves as much as possible by the *Confession of Ausburg* might have extorted from them on this occasion as in many others, their thoughts and words did not agree; nor can this be doubted of, when the instruction, which, during the Conference, they received from *Calvin*, is look'd into. You, *Ep. p.* says he, *that assist at the Conference, ought to be 342.* upon your guard, in maintaining your own just right, not to appear stubborn, and so cause the whole blame of the rupture to be cast on you. The *Confession of Ausburg*, you are sensible, is the torch which your furies employ to light up that fire, which hath set all France in a combustion; but you ought to look nearly into the reason which makes them press you so much to receive it, considering, that its suppleeness has ever been displeasing to men of good sense; and that *Melancthon*, its author, often repented his drawing it up; and lastly, that in many places it is adapted to the practice in Germany; besides that its obscure and defective brevity hath this evil in it, of omitting sundry articles of the greatest moment.

It then plainly appears, that it was not the sole article of the *Supper*, but, in general, the whole *Confession of Ausburg* which displeased him. This only article, nevertheless, was excepted against; tho' when Germany was concern'd it was often found proper to wave even this exception.

'Tis what appears by another letter of the same *Calvin*, written also during the Conference, whereby, we may perceive, how many different parts he play'd at the same time. It was, I say, at this very time, and in the year 1561, that he

Calvinists
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policy
only.

Ep. p.
342.

CII.

How ma-
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were
play'd by
he *Calvin*

and the
Calvinists
with re-
spect to
the Con-
fession of
Ausburg.
Ep. p.
324.

he wrote a letter to the Princes of Germany in behalf of those of *Strasburg*; at the beginning of which, he makes them say, *That they are of the number of those, who receive the Confession of Ausburg throughout, even in the article of the Supper*; and he adds, *that the Queen of England, (Elizabeth) altho' she approves of the Confession of Ausburg, rejects nevertheless the carnal ways of speaking of Heshusius, and others, who could not endure either Calvin, or Beza, or Peter Martyr, or Melancthon himself, whom, with respect to the Supper, they accused of relaxation.*

CIII.
A like
diffimula-
tion in the
Electors
Frederick
III.
Synt. Gen.
2. p. p.
141. 142.

The same behaviour may be seen in the *Confession of Faith* of the Elector *Frederick III. Count Palatine*, reported in the collection of *Geneva*: a Confession wholly *Calvinistical*, and as opposite to the Real Presence, as any ever was; since this Prince there declares, that *Jesus Christ* is not in the Supper *In any manner, either visible, or invisible, comprehensible, or incomprehensible, but in Heaven only.* Nevertheless, his Son and successor *John Casimir*, in the preface which he places before this *Confession*, says expressly, that his Father *Never did depart from the Confession of Ausburg, nor even from the Apology which was join'd to it*: 'tis that of *Melancthon* which we have seen to be so distinct and full for the *Real Presence*; and, if the Son should not meet with credit, the Father himself in the body of his *Confession*, declares the self same thing, in the self same terms.

CIV.
Calvin's
shifting
address
with re-
gard to
the tenth
article
of the

It was therefore a method pretty much in vogue, even amongst the *Calvinists*, to approve purely and simply the *Confession of Ausburg* when Germany was concern'd, either out of a certain respect for *Luther*, the common Father of the whole pretended *Reformation*; or because, that *Confession* only had been tolerated in *Germany* by the

States

States of the Empire: and even, out of the Empire itself, had obtain'd so great an authority, that *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* durst not own without great deference and precaution that they departed from it; seeing that, in the exception even of the sole article of the *Supper*, which they often made, they rather chose the subterfuge of diversity of editions, and difference of sense put upon this article, than absolutely to reject it.

And indeed, *Calvin*, who makes so free with the *Confession* of *Ausburg* when he speaks in confidence to his friends, every where else shews an outward respect to it, even in regard to the article of the *Supper*, owning he receives it when rightly explain'd, and in the manner *Melancthon*, *Ibid*, the author thereof, did himself understand it. But, there's nothing more frivolous than this evasion; for, altho' this *Confession* was penn'd by *Melancthon*, he did not expound therein his own particular doctrine, but that of *Luther* and the whole Party, whose Secretary and Interpreter he was, as he himself often declares.

And, allowing that in a publick act the particular sentiments of that person who drew it, might be refer'd to; it ought, however, to be consider'd, not what *Melancthon's* notions were afterwards, but what they, and those of all his sect were at that time; there being no reason to doubt, but he endeavour'd to explain naturally what they all believed; so much the more, as we have seen that he as sincerely rejected the *figurative* sense at that time, as *Luther* himself; the which he never openly approved, notwithstanding the various shifts and inconstancy he afterwards was subject to.

'Tis not therefore upright and just dealing to appeal to *Melancthon's* judgment in this matter; and for all *Calvin's* continual boasts of speaking his

*Ausburg-
Confession.*

Ep. p.

319.

2 *Def.*

Ult. Adm.

ad Westp.

and the
Calvinists
with re-
spect to
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fession of
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Ep. p.
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States of the Empire: and even, out of the Empire itself, had obtain'd so great an authority, that *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* durst not own without great deference and precaution that they departed from it; seeing that, in the exception even of the sole article of the *Supper*, which they often made, they rather chose the subterfuge of diversity of editions, and difference of sense put upon this article, than absolutely to reject it.

And indeed, *Calvin*, who makes so free with the *Confession* of *Ausburg* when he speaks in confidence to his friends, every where else shews an outward respect to it, even in regard to the article of the *Supper*, owning he receives it when rightly explain'd, and in the manner *Melancthon*, *Ibid*, the author thereof, did himself understand it. But, there's nothing more frivolous than this evasion; for, altho' this *Confession* was penn'd by *Melancthon*, he did not expound therein his own particular doctrine, but that of *Luther* and the whole Party, whose Secretary and Interpreter he was, as he himself often declares.

And, allowing that in a publick act the particular sentiments of that person who drew it, might be refer'd to; it ought, however, to be consider'd, not what *Melancthon's* notions were afterwards, but what they, and those of all his sect were at that time; there being no reason to doubt, but he endeavour'd to explain naturally what they all believed; so much the more, as we have seen that he as sincerely rejected the *figurative* sense at that time, as *Luther* himself; the which he never openly approved, notwithstanding the various shifts and inconstancy he afterwards was subject to.

'Tis not therefore upright and just dealing to appeal to *Melancthon's* judgment in this matter; and for all *Calvin's* continual boasts of speaking his

Ausburg-Confession.

Ep. p.

319.

2 *Def.*

Ult. Adm.

ad Westp.

his real sentiments without the least dissimulation; yet it is plainly seen, that his design was to flatter the *Lutherans*.

Nay, so palpable became this flattery, that at length they were ashamed of it even in the Party; and this was the reason, that, in the acts we have just consider'd, especially in the Conference of *Poissy*, they resolved to except the article of the *Supper*, but that only; not at all concern'd, that by their approbation of all the rest, they passed sentence against their own *Confession of Faith*, which they had but a little before presented to *Charles IX.*

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PREFACE Page xxiii. Line 3. will *soon* be clearly, *read* will *also* be the more clearly. *Ibid.* l. 6. *that* importance, *r. such* importance. *Ibid.* l. 17. to turn successively, *r. strive* to turn successively. p. xxx. l. 3. inexecutable, *r. inexorable*. p. xxxii. l. 1. for her Pastors, *r. Pastors* for her.

Book I. Page 5. Line 12. *Church'sr*, *dele r.* p. 13. l. 6. could start, *read* should start. p. 23. l. 3. he shall unbind, *r. ye* shall unbind. p. 25. l. 29. *Luther* owns during this fright, *r. Luther* owns. During this fright. p. 29. l. 1. missions, *r. mission*. p. 34. l. 12. the prophet, *r. the prophets*. p. 35. l. 25. with him, would have, *r. with him, who practised* so great and holy austerities to maintain its integrity, would have. p. 37. l. 27. establishment. *Calvin* defends, *r. establishment*. *Zuinglius* said as much. *Calvin* defends. p. 38. l. 8. renders them, *r. render'd* them.

Book II. Page 44. Line 30. too much press'd, *read* so much press'd. p. 46. l. 3. warmth, *r. wrath*. p. 48. l. 15. of abuses, *r. abuses*. p. 55. l. 21. much stress, *r. so much stress*. *Ibid.* l. 22. not built, *r. nor* built. p. 56. l. 3. his Gospels, *r. his Gospel*. p. 70. l. 20. *Zuinglius*, *r. He*. p. 90. l. 34. a little in pain, *r. little* in pain.

Book III. Page 109. Line 7. that, have, *read* that have. p. 122. l. 29. follow'd them upon, *r. follow'd* them, upon. p. 128. l. 23. one acquires, *r. one may acquire*. p. 136. l. 19. said nothing, *r. said*, nothing. p. 139. l. 5. as we do. *r. as you do*. p. 145. l. 38. disculpate, *r. exculpate*.

Book IV. Page 159. Line 7. ascertain to us that, *read* ascertain, that. p. 163. l. 10. up not, *r. not up*. p. 168. l. 21. retraction, *r. retractation*.

Book V. Page 192. Line 7. of the Church, *read* the Church. p. 193. l. 33. *dele not*.

Book IX. Page 448. Line 17. grounds of doctrine, *read* of his doctrine.

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